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A primer of historical
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A PRIMER OF HISTORICAL ENGLISH GRAMMAR

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A PRIMER

OF

HISTORICAL ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY

HENRY SWEET, M.A., PH.D., LL.D.

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PREFACE

THE object of this book is to give the essentials of historical English grammar as far as is possible within the limits of 100 pages, excluding syntax, but including the history of the language, phonology, inflections, particles, composition, and derivation. Although it covers exactly the same ground as my *Short Historical English Grammar* (itself an abridgment of the historical portions of my *New English Grammar*), yet the great compression involved in writing it has obliged me to depart considerably from the plan of the larger works; although in some cases, where the limits of conciseness had already been reached in the *Short Historical Grammar*, I have naturally preferred conservatism to useless innovation.

As this little book will probably be studied by many who have neither leisure nor inclination to pursue the historical study of English any further, I have added a short selection of Old, Middle, and Modern English texts—the latter with phonetic transcriptions to show the great changes in pronunciation which underlie the fixity of the orthography. These texts are accompanied by explanatory

notes and references to the body of the Primer. They will serve both to supplement the examples there given, and to quicken the student's interest in a way which is only possible by means of connected texts. They may also perhaps be an incitement to explore further the wide field of Early English literature and language.

HENRY SWEET.

SOUTH PARK, REIGATE:
12th April, 1893.

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PRIMER OF
HISTORICAL ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

HISTORY OF ENGLISH.

Periods.

1. We distinguish three main stages in the history of our language, namely **Old English** (OE), **Middle English** (ME), and **Modern English** (MnE). We further distinguish periods of transition between these main stages, each of which latter is further divided into an **early** and a **late** period. The dates of these periods are, roughly, as follows :—

Early Old English (E. of Alfred) . . .	700–900
Late Old English (E. of Ælfric)	900–1100
Transition Old English (E. of Layamon) . .	1100–1200
Early Middle English (E. of the Ancren Riwle) .	1200–1300
Late Middle English (E. of Chaucer) . . .	1300–1400
Transition Middle English (Caxton E.) . .	1400–1500
Early Modern English (Tudor E.; E. of Shakespere)	1500–1650
Late Modern English	1650–

Cognate Languages.

2. English belongs to the **Arian** family of languages, descended from a hypothetical Parent Arian language. The most important of the Arian languages of Europe are **Greek**,

Latin—which is the parent of the **Romance** languages (Italian, French, Spanish, etc.),—the **Celtic** languages (Irish, Welsh, etc.), the **Slavonic** languages (Russian, Polish, etc.), and the **Germanic** languages.

3. The chief languages of the Germanic group—to which English belongs—are **Gothic**, the **Scandinavian** languages (Icelandic, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish), the **Low German** languages (Dutch, Low German or Platt Deutsch, Frisian, English), and **High German** or German. English is, therefore, a Low German language, closely allied to Frisian, which is really Continental English.

Old English.

4. Before the fifth century Britain was partially conquered by a variety of Germanic tribes from the other side of the German Ocean, the chief of which were the **Saxons**, the **Angles**, and the **Jutes**.

5. The first settlement is said to have been that of the Jutes, who took Kent and the Isle of Wight.

6. The Saxons occupied the country south of the Thames; except Cornwall, where the Britons still kept their nationality. Some of the Saxons settled in Sussex; some north of the Thames in Middlesex and Essex; the remaining portion of the tribe being called 'West-Saxons,' whence their state is called 'Wessex.'

7. The rest of England was occupied by the Angles. Suffolk and Norfolk were included under the name of 'East-Anglia.' Another tribe of Anglians occupied what are now the Midland Counties, between the Thames and the Humber. These were called **Mercians**, and their country is called 'Mercia.' The country north of the Humber was

occupied by a variety of Anglian tribes included under the name of **Northumbrians**. Ancient Northumbria extended up to the Firth of Forth, and thus included the greater part of what is now the Lowlands of Scotland.

8. All these tribes spoke the same language with slight differences of dialect. These differences increased by degrees, so that already in the 8th century we can distinguish four main dialects: **Northumbrian** and **Mercian**, which together constitute the **Anglian** group; and **West-Saxon** and **Kentish**, which together constitute the **Southern** group.

9. All these tribes agreed in calling their common language **English**, that is, 'Anglish,' because the Angles were for a long time the dominant tribe. The supremacy afterwards passed to the West-Saxons, and their capital, Winchester, became the capital of England; and West-Saxon became the official and, to a great extent, the literary language all over England. The West-Saxons still continued to call their language English, the name 'Anglo-Saxon' being used only as a collective name for the people, not the language.

Characteristics of Old English.

10. The characteristics of OE are those of the other Low German languages. It was, as compared with MnE, a highly inflected language, being in this respect intermediate between Latin and Modern German. In its syntax it closely resembled Modern German. It also resembled Modern German in having an unlimited power of forming new words by derivation and composition, as when it made *Scribes and Pharisees* into 'bookers and separation-saints' (OE *bōceras and sundorhālgan*).

Latin Influence.

11. Nevertheless it adopted many Latin words, some of which it brought with it from the Continent, such as *strēt* 'high road,' 'street,' *mīl* 'mile' from Latin (*via*) *strāta*, *mīlia* (*passuum*); while others were learnt from the Romanized Britons, such as *ceaster* 'city' from *castra*. These are all popular words. There is another layer of learned words which came in after the introduction of Christianity in 597, such as *dēofol* 'devil,' *mynster* 'monastery' from *diabolus*, *monasterium*.

Scandinavian Influence.

12. Towards the end of the 8th century Scandinavian pirates—chiefly from Norway, but also from Denmark, all being indiscriminately called 'Danes' by the Anglo-Saxons—began to harass the coasts of England. By the end of the next century they had conquered and settled East-Anglia (in 870), Mercia (in 874), and Northumbria (in 876); although in the next century they were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the West-Saxon kings. In 1016 the whole of England was conquered by the Danes, and England was ruled by Danish kings till 1042, when the Anglo-Saxon royal line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor.

13. It is not till the close of the OE period that Scandinavian words appear.

French Influence.

14. With the accession of Edward the Confessor in 1042 Norman influence begins; and in 1066 the battle of Hastings made the Norman duke William king of England, although the actual conquest was not completed till 1071.

15. The Normans were Scandinavian by race, but their language was a dialect of Old French.

16. The influence of Norman French on OE was of course even slighter than that of Scandinavian.

Middle English.

17. In its Middle period English went through much the same changes as the other Germanic languages, though at a quicker rate. Many of the sounds were changed, most of the old inflections were lost, their place being supplied by form-words—prepositions, auxiliary verbs, etc.—and many words became obsolete.

Dialects of Middle English.

18. The Norman Conquest, by depriving the old West-Saxon of its literary and political supremacy, gave free play to the development of the dialects. Although the ME dialects are continuations of the OE ones, most of them are called by different names. The main divisions are **Northern**, corresponding to the Old Northumbrian, **Midland**, corresponding to the Old Mercian, **Southern**, corresponding to the old West-Saxon, and **Kentish**. We include the first two under the term 'North-Thames English,' the last two under 'South-Thames English.'

19. Of these dialects the Midland was the predominating one. Its commanding position in the heart of England enabled it to exercise a direct influence on all the other dialects, while Southern and Northern were completely cut off from one another. Hence even the earliest Southern of about 1200 shows considerable influence of the Midland—or Old Mercian—dialect.

20. It is to be observed that the changes which distinguish one period of English from another went on much faster in

the North of England than in the South. The Northern dialect in its Early Middle period had got rid of nearly all the inflections that are not preserved in MnE, being thus several centuries ahead of the South-Thames dialects. The Midland dialects were more conservative than the Northern, though less so than the South-Thames dialects.

Struggle between French and English.

21. For a long time the two languages, French and English, kept almost entirely apart. The English of 1200 is almost as free from French words as the English of 1050; and it was not till after 1300 that French words began to be adopted wholesale into English.

22. Meanwhile English was steadily gaining the upper hand. In 1258 we find it officially employed in the Proclamation of Henry III. In the next century French gradually fell into disuse even among the aristocracy. In 1362 English was introduced in the courts of law instead of French. About the same time English took the place of French as the vehicle of instruction in schools.

Rise of the London Dialect.

23. In the ME period the dialects had diverged so much that speakers of the extreme Northern and extreme Southern dialects were no longer able to understand one another, and the need of a common dialect became pressing. Such a common dialect can be formed only in a centre of intercourse where speakers from all parts of the country meet constantly. Such a centre was London, which now was not only the capital of England, but also a place of great and growing commercial importance.

24. The London dialect, as we find it in its earliest

document, the Proclamation of Henry III, shows such a mixture of Midland and Southern forms as we might expect from its position on the border-line between these two dialects. The Midland dialect was intermediate between the two extremes, Northern and Southern, not only geographically but also linguistically; so that speakers of Midland could understand both Northern and Southern much better than Northerners and Southerners could understand one another. Hence the Midland element in the London dialect made the latter peculiarly fitted to serve as a means of general communication. Hence also the Midland element in the London dialect became stronger and stronger in the course of the ME period, till at last even Northern forms passed into it through the medium of the Midland dialect, while Southern influence became weaker and weaker.

Scandinavian Influence.

25. Although the Norwegians and Danes spoke different dialects, the difference between these dialects was very slight. The Scandinavian words imported into English seem to be mostly Danish. Although the Scandinavian dialects were not intelligible to the Anglo-Saxons, yet the cognate languages English and Scandinavian were so similar in structure and had so many words in common, that the languages blended together with the same facility as the races that spoke them. English got the upper hand, but Scandinavian nevertheless left its mark on every English dialect, especially the East-Midland and Northern dialects, where the population was half Scandinavian. *Ill, fro* in 'to and fro,' *bound* in 'bound for a place,' are examples of Scandinavian words in English (Icelandic *ill-r* 'bad,' *frā* 'from,' *būinn* 'ready').

French Influence.

26. The Norman French introduced into England was not a uniform dialect, but was itself split up into local varieties or sub-dialects, which in the Norman spoken in England—the 'Anglo-Norman' or 'Anglo-French' language—were mixed together indiscriminately. The loss of Normandy in 1204 put an end to the influence of Continental Norman; and henceforth Anglo-French was influenced only by the literary French of Paris, this Parisian French having the same predominance among the French dialects as London English had among the English dialects. At the time when the influence of Anglo-French on English begins to be important—that is, in the late ME period—it was, therefore, a mixture of Old French of different periods and different dialects, modified by changes of its own, and also by the influence of English itself, especially in its pronunciation.

27. French influence on English is most marked in the vocabulary. Soon after the Conquest English ceased for several centuries to be the language of the higher purposes of life, and sank almost to a mere peasant's dialect. So when English came again into general use, it had lost a great part of its higher vocabulary, for which it had to use French words, such as *sir*, *duke*; *captain*, *army*, *battle*; *sermon*, *preach*. Even when the English word was kept, the same idea was often expressed by a French word, whence numerous synonyms such as *work* and *labour*, *weak* and *feeble*.

Latin Influence.

28. In Old French itself we must distinguish between **popular** and **learned** words. The popular words in Old French, such as *sire* 'lord,' from Latin *senior* 'older,' are

simply Latin words which have undergone those changes which take place in every language whose development is natural and unimpeded. But as Latin was kept up as an independent language throughout the Middle Ages, Latin words were imported into Old French as well as the other Romance languages, being used first in books, then in ordinary speech. These learned words were kept as much as possible unchanged, being pronounced as they were written. It often happened that a Latin word which had assumed a popular form in French, was re-imported direct from Latin, so that chronological doublets were formed, such as *caitif* 'wretched' and *captif*, both from Latin *captīvus*, whence the English *caitiff* and *captive*.

29. These learned French words were introduced into ME in great numbers. Hence when Latin words came to be imported directly into English, they were put into a French shape on the analogy of those Latin words which had really been brought in through French. Thus when a word in *-tio*, such as *nōmināti̯ō*, was taken direct from Latin, it was made into *-tion* (MnE *nomination*) on the analogy of the older importations, such as *nation* (ME *nācioun*).

Modern English.

30. In the Middle period literary English was still distinctly an inflectional language. In the Modern period it became mainly uninflectional, with only scanty remains of the older inflections.

31. The Modern period is that of the complete ascendency of the London dialect, which henceforth is the only one used in writing throughout England. Henceforth the

other dialects of England continued to exist only as illiterate forms of speech confined within narrow areas.

32. The spread of Modern London English—or 'Standard English,' as we may now call it—was greatly aided by the introduction of printing in 1476. The publication of Tindal's translation of the New Testament in 1525 paved the way for the Authorized Version of 1611, which made Early Modern London English what it has ever since been—the sacred or liturgical language of the whole English-speaking race.

Influence of other Languages.

33. In the Early Modern period, the Renascence—the revival of the study of the classical authors of Greece and Rome—led to the adoption of an immense number of Greek as well as Latin words, the Greek words being generally latinized, just as the Latin words imported into Middle English were frenchified.

34. As the first prose writings were mostly either translations from Latin, or else the work of scholars to whom Latin was in some respects a more natural means of expression than English, it was inevitable that Early MnE prose was greatly influenced by Latin, not only in vocabulary, but also in grammatical structure and idioms. In a few generations many Latin—and some Greek—words and expressions which were at first purely learned and technical passed into the language of everyday life; while, on the other hand, many others became obsolete.

35. As the relations of England with other countries became more extended, many words were imported into English from almost every European language, especially Dutch, French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and from

many other languages besides, such as Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and the native languages of America.

36. Standard English has always been influenced by the different English dialects. The literary revival of Broad Scotch—which is really Modern Northumbrian—at the end of the last century by Scott and Burns has introduced many Scotch words into literary English.

PHONOLOGY.

PHONETICS.

37. Phonetics is the science of speech-sounds.

38. As the ordinary spelling does not always show the real pronunciation, it is necessary to use a **phonetic** spelling, which, to prevent confusion, we enclose in ( ).

Analysis.

39. The foundation of speech-sounds is breath expelled from the lungs, and variously modified by the vocal organs—throat, nose, mouth, lips.

40. The first modification the breath undergoes is in the throat. If the vocal chords, which are stretched across the inside of the throat, are kept apart so that the air can pass through with but little hindrance, we have **breath**, as in ordinary breathing or sighing, and in the consonant (h), as in *high*. If the chords are brought together so as to vibrate, we have **voice**, as in murmuring or in the word *err*.

41. If the passage into the nose is left open, we have a **nasal** sound, such as (m) in *am*. In the formation of all sounds that are not nasal, such as the (b) in *amber*, the nose-passage is closed.

42. If the mouth-passage is narrowed so as to cause

audible friction—that is, a hissing or buzzing sound—or if it is completely stopped, a **consonant** is produced.

43. If the mouth-passage is left so open as not to cause audible friction, and voiced breath is sent through it, we have a **vowel.** Every alteration in the shape of the mouth produces a different vowel.

44. Some consonants have hardly any friction when voiced, and are called **vowel-like** consonants. Such consonants are (l), as in *little* (litl), and (m).

Synthesis.

45. We have now to consider the **synthesis** of sounds, that is, the different ways in which they are joined together in speech.

Quantity.

46. By quantity, sounds are distinguished as **long** and **short.** In phonetic notation long vowels are doubled, short vowels being written single, as in (məəmə) *murmur*.

Stress.

47. There are three main degrees of stress or loudness: **strong**, **half-strong** or medium, and **weak**. Thus in *contradict* the last syllable is strong, the first half-strong, the next weak. We mark strong stress by (ˈ), half-strong by (ːˈ), these marks being put before the sound on which the stressed syllable begins, weak or unstressed syllables being left unmarked: (ːkontrəˈdikt). Weak stress is marked when necessary by prefixing (-), as in (-it reinz) 'it rains.'

48. Sounds which occur only in unstressed syllables, such as the short (ə) in (məəmə) *murmur*, are called **weak.**

Intonation.

49. Intonation or tone is either **level**, **rising**, or **falling**, marked respectively (¯, ′, ˋ). The level tone is not much used in speech. The rising tone is heard in questions, such as *what′*, the falling in answers, such as *noˋ*.

Glides.

50. Glides are sounds produced during the transition from one sound to another. Thus in (kii) *key* we have the glide from the (k)-position to the (ii)-position, which does not, however, require to be written, as it is implied by the position of (k) and (ii).

51. Consonants are often joined together without any glide, as in such combinations as (nd) in *hand*.

Syllables.

52. A syllable is a vowel, either alone or in combination with consonants, uttered with a single impulse of stress. Every fresh impulse of stress makes a new syllable, the beginning of the syllable forming the beginning of the stress, as in (ə·tæk) *attack*. Vowel-like consonants often form syllables in the same way as vowels, as in *battle*=(bæt-l).

Diphthongs.

53. If two vowels are uttered with one impulse of stress, so as to form a single syllable, the combination is called a **diphthong**, such as (oi) in *oil*. Most diphthongs have the stress on the first element. A simple long vowel, such as (əə), is called a **monophthong**.

We now have to consider sounds more in detail.

Vowels.

54. The shape of the mouth-passage by which vowels are formed depends partly on the position of the tongue, partly on that of the lips. If the lip-opening is narrowed while the tongue is in a certain position, the resulting vowel is said to be **rounded.** Thus (y) in French *lune* is the round vowel corresponding to the unrounded (ii), which is nearly the sound in English *he*, both vowels having the same tongue-position.

55. The tongue-positions depend partly on the degree of **retraction** of the tongue, partly on its **height** or distance from the palate.

56. If the root of the tongue is drawn back, we have a **back** vowel, such as the (aa) in *father*. If the fore part of the tongue is advanced, we have a **front** vowel, such as (ii). If the tongue is left in its neutral position, intermediate between back and front, we have a **mixed** vowel, such as (əə).

57. If the tongue is raised as close to the palate as is possible without making the vowel into a consonant, a **high** vowel is formed. Thus (i) is a high-front vowel, (u), as in *full*, a high-back-round vowel. There are two other degrees of height, **mid** and **low.** For convenience we may include mid and low vowels under the common name 'un-high' vowels, distinguishing them as **close** and **open**, according to the degree of openness of the mouth-passage. We denote open vowels, when necessary, by italics. French *é* in *été* is the mid-front-close vowel, or, more briefly, the front-close vowel, for when a vowel is not expressly called high, we assume it to be un-high. English (*e*) in *men* is the corresponding mid-front-open vowel. Very open vowels are called **broad.** (æ) in *man* is a broad front vowel. The distinction.

of close and open applies also to the high vowels. Thus French (i) in *fini* is the close high front vowel, English (*i*) in *finny* is the open high front vowel.

The Vowels in Detail.

The following are the most important vowels.

(A) Unrounded vowels.

58. (a) 'clear back': (a·haa) *aha!*

59. (ɐ) 'dull back': (sɐn) *son, sun.*

60. (ə) 'mixed' or 'neutral' vowel: (məəmə) *murmur.*

61. (i) 'high front.' Close (i) in French *fini*, the short E. *i*, as in *finny*, being always open. Long close (ii) is the older E. sound in such words as *see, sea, receive, machine*, and this sound is still preserved in Scotland and the North of England. In the South of England it is diphthongized into (*i*) followed by very close (i), which is nearly the sound of the consonant (j) in *you*, so we write (sij), etc.

62. (e) 'front.' French *é* is close front. The E. vowel in *men* is open front (*e*). Before (ə)—with which it forms a diphthong—it is still opener, as in (feə) *fare, fair*. The long close front (ee) is still preserved in Scotch in such words as *name, day*, where Standard E. has the diphthong (*ei*).

63. (æ) 'broad front': (mæn) *man.*

(B) Round vowels.

64. (u) 'high back round.' Close in French *sou*, the E. short (*u*) in *full, good* being always open. The older close (uu) in such words as *moon, move, you* (juu) is still kept in Scotland and the North of England, but in the South of England it becomes (*u*w) with a distinct (w). Weak open (a), as in *value*, is the high mixed round vowel, which, when necessary we write (ü)—(væljü).

65. (o) 'back round.' Close in French *beau* (bo). Close (oo) in Scotch *no, know,* where Standard E. has the diphthong (*o*u). The (o) in the diphthong (*o*i), as in *boy,* is the same open sound. Weak (o), as in *October,* is the open mixed vowel, which, when necessary, we write (ö)—(öktoubə).

66. (ɔ) 'broad back round.' This is the sound of the E. short vowels in *not, what.* The long broad vowel is heard in such words as *naught, fall.* For convenience we write the short vowel (o), the long (ɔ) in Standard E.—(not, nɔt).

67. (y) 'high front round'=rounded (i). French *une.* German *über.*

68. (œ) 'front round.' Close in French *peu,* whose vowel is a rounded French *é.* Open in French *peur.*

Nasal Vowels.

69. If a vowel is formed with the nose-passage open, it is said to be **nasal**, which we mark by (*n*). Thus we have nasal (a, æ) in French *sang, sans* (sa*n*), *vin* (væ*n*).

---

70. The following table will show the relations of the chief vowels more clearly. Those marked * do not occur in English:—

high back *ʌ	*high mixed* *ï	*high front* i
back a ; ɐ	*mixed* ə	*front* e ; æ
high back round u	*high mixed round* ü	*high front round* *y
back round o, ɔ	*mixed round* ö	*front round* *œ

Consonants.

71. Consonants admit of a two-fold division (*a*) by **form**, (*b*) by **place**.

Form.

By form there are five classes:—

72. (*a*) **Open**, in which the passage is narrowed without stoppage, such as (s).

73. (*b*) **Side**, formed by stopping the middle of the passage and leaving it open at the sides, as in (l).

74. (*c*) **Stopped**, formed by complete closure, such as (p).

75. (*d*) **Nasal** consonants are formed with complete closure of the mouth-passage, the nose-passage being left open, as in (m).

76. (*e*) **Trills** are the result of vibration of the flexible parts of the mouth. Thus in the trilled Scotch (r) the point of the tongue vibrates against the gums, the E. (r) in *red* being an open consonant without any trill.

Place.

By place there are also five classes:—

77. (*a*) **Back,** formed by the root of the tongue, such as (k, ŋ) in *king* (kiŋ). The back open consonant (x) is the sound of *ch* in the Scotch and German *loch*. The corresponding voice consonant (ɣ) is heard in German *sage*.

78. (*b*) **Front,** formed by the middle of the tongue, such as the front open voice consonant (j) in *you*, which is really a consonantal (i). The corresponding breath consonant (ç) is heard in German *ich* and Scotch *hue*, *Hugh* (çuu), which in Southern E. is pronounced (hjuw).

79. (*c*) **Point,** formed by the tip of the tongue. In the

point-gum consonants, such as E. (t, d, n, l) the point of the tongue is brought against the gums just behind the teeth; in the **point-teeth** consonants, such as the point-teeth-open (þ) in *thin*, it is brought against the teeth. The voice consonant corresponding to (þ) is (ð) in *then*.

80. (*d*) **Blade,** formed by the blade of the tongue—that part of it which is immediately behind the point. (s, z) are open blade consonants. In the **blade-point** consonants, such as the blade-point open (ʃ) in *she*, the blade position is modified by raising the point of the tongue. The corresponding voice consonant (ʒ) is heard in *measure* (meʒə).

81. The point and blade consonants are included under the name of **forward** consonants.

82. (*e*) **Lip,** formed by the lips, such as (p, m). The lip-open consonant (ɸ) is the sound produced in blowing out a candle; the corresponding voice consonant occurs in German in such words as *quelle* (kβelə); (f, v) are **lip-teeth** consonants. (w*h*), as in *why*, and (w) are **lip-back** consonants, formed by narrowing the lip-opening and raising the back of the tongue at the same time, (w) being a consonantal (u). In Southern E. (w*h*) is often pronounced (w).

Compound Consonants: Rounding, Fronting.

83. (w*h*, w) are really **compound** consonants, formed in two places at once. If instead of back-modifying the lip-open consonant, as in (w*h*), we lip-modify or **round** the back-open consonant (x), we get the back-round consonant (x*w*) in German *auch*. Other consonants may be rounded in the same way, which we express by adding (*w*); thus (r*w*ed) is *red* pronounced with a rounded (r).

84. When a consonant is modified by raising the front of the tongue, it is said to be **front-modified** or fronted,

which we express by adding (*j*). Thus the lip-open front-modified consonant is the sound in French *huit* (*βj*it); it is almost a consonantal (y).

The Aspirate.

85. The aspirate (h) is partly an open throat consonant, partly a breath vowel-glide. Thus (h) in *hook* is mainly formed by unvoicing the beginning of the (u), almost as if we were to write the word (w*h*uk).

86. The following is a table of the chief consonants. Those marked * do not occur in E.

	Breath.								
	Throat.	*Back.*	*Front.*	*Point.*	*Blade.*	*Blade-Point.*	*Lip.*	*Lip-Back.*	*Lip-Teeth.*
Open	h	*x	*ç	*r*h*, þ	s	ʃ	*φ	w*h*	f
Side	—			*l*h*					
Stop			*c	t			p		
Nasal	—	*ŋ*h*	*ñ*h*	*n*h*			*m*h*		
	Voice.								
Open	—	*ʒ	j	r, ð	z	ʒ	*β	w	v
Side	—			l					
Stop	—	g	*q	d			b		
Nasal	—	ŋ	*ñ	n			m		

87. We generally write (rh), etc., instead of (r*h*) for the sake of convenience.

R in English.

88. (r) in E. occurs only before a vowel following it without any pause, as in *here he is* (hiər ij iz); before a consonant or

a pause it is dropped, leaving only the preceding (ə), as in *here she is, he is here* (hiə ʃij iz, hij z hiə). This (ə) is absorbed by a preceding (əə, aa), as in *err, erring, far, far away* (əə, əəriŋ, faa, faar əwei). After (ɔ) the (ə) is kept finally, but dropped before the (r), as in *pour, pouring* (pɔə, pɔriŋ), being also dropped before a consonant in the same word, as in *poured* (pɔd).

LAWS OF SOUND-CHANGE.

89. Sound-changes fall under two main classes—internal and external.

90. Internal changes are either organic or acoustic. **Organic** changes are due to the natural tendencies of the organs of speech, as in the change of OE *stān* into MnE *stone* through the natural tendency to pronounce a back vowel without opening the mouth fully, and so to round it.

91. Acoustic changes are the result of the impressions which sounds make on the ear, as when one sound is substituted for another because of their likeness to the ear: thus children often make *through* (þruw) into (fruw), and point (r) is changed into back (ɣ) in French and other languages. These are **imitative** changes.

92. External changes are those which are independent of organic and acoustic tendencies. Thus the change of *spake* into *spoke* in MnE is not the result of any tendency to change *ā* into *ō* in MnE, but of the influence of the preterite participle *spoken*.

93. Internal changes are further distinguished as isolative and combinative. **Isolative** changes, such as that of OE *ā*

into MnE *ō*, affect a sound without regard to its surroundings, while in **combinative** changes one sound is modified by another one close to it, as in the change of ME (au) in *saw* into MnE (sɔɔ) through (sɔu) or (s*o*u). Here we have two distinct combinative changes: first the rounding of the (a) by the influence of the following (u), and then the lowering of the high (u) till it is merged into the (ɔ). We see that the influence of one sound on another is either **backwards**, as in the change of (au) into (ɔu), or **forwards**, as in the change of (ɔu) into (ɔɔ).

94. All combinative changes are, besides, either convergent or divergent. **Convergent** changes, as of (au) into (ɔu) are organic, being due to the tendency to save trouble by making the passage from one sound to another as short and easy as possible.

95. Complete convergence or **assimilation** in diphthongs makes them into monophthongs, as when (ɔu) becomes (ɔɔ), and in this case is called **smoothing.**

96. Divergent changes are often partly acoustic, being due to the striving for distinctness, as when the half diphthong (ou) in *no* is made into full (au) in Cockney E. But **cleaving**, by which a long vowel is made into a diphthong, is an isolative organic change; it consists generally in forming the first half of the vowel with greater openness—either of the mouth- or the lip-passage—than the second. We see the beginning of cleaving in the E. change of (ii, uu) into (ij, uw), which by divergence could easily become (ei, ou) or (əi, öu) and then (ai, au).

SPELLING AND PRONUNCIATION.

Old English.

97. The Anglo-Saxons brought with them to Britain their national Runic alphabet. On their conversion to Christianity they adopted the Latin alphabet, to which they added the Runic letter þ=*th*.

98. Old-English spelling was phonetic: the OE scribes wrote as they spoke. Thus there were no 'silent' letters in OE spelling, *ic cnāwe* 'I know,' for instance, being pronounced (ic knaawe) with a distinct (k) and a close (e). But it was defective in various ways. Thus one letter was often used to denote more than one sound. Hence it is convenient to supplement these defective distinctions by adding diacritics, which gives the following new letters—*ę́*, *ǫ́*, *ċ*, *ġ*, together with *ā* etc., where the ¯ shows that the vowel is long.

99. When the Anglo-Saxons adopted the Latin alphabet they naturally used each Latin letter to denote the English sound nearest to that which the letter had in the Latin pronunciation of that time. The result was that the vowel-letters, as a general rule, had much the same sounds as they still have in Italian and most of the Continental languages. Thus *mann* 'man' must be pronounced like the German *mann*, the sound of English *man* being represented in OE by *æ*, as in *fæt* 'vessel,' whence our word *vat* with exactly the same vowel-sound. Note also that *y* kept its Latin sound—that of French *u*—as in *fȳr*=(fyyr) 'fire.' *e* and *o* had both close and open sounds, which latter we write *ę́*, *ǫ́*.

i, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ē*, *ō* were always close, being pronounced exactly as in our phonetic notation. The diphthongs *ea*, *ēa*, *eo*, *ēo*,

io had the stress on the first element, the first two being pronounced (·æa, ·ææa). *ie*, *īe* were also originally diphthongs, but in West-Saxon they had the sound of open (*i*), as in *hīeran* (hi̇iran) 'hear,' distinct from *wīr* (wiir) 'wire.'

100. Double consonants were pronounced really double or long, as in Italian. Thus the *nn* in *sunne* was pronounced as in *pen-knife* (pennaif).

101. *c* had two pronunciations, one back = (k), as in *cyning* (kyniŋg) 'king,' the other front—which we write *ċ*— = (c), resembling the MnE *ch* into which it passed in most words, as in *ċiriċe* 'church.' *sc* always = *sċ*, as in *scamu* 'shame.'

102. In the same way we distinguish between back *g* and front *ġ*, each of which, however, represents a stop and an open consonant—(g, q; ɣ, j). They generally had their open sounds when not initial, as in *dagas* 'days,' *folgian* 'follow,' *dæġ* 'day,' *sęġeþ* 'says.' But they were stops in the combinations *ng* (ŋg) *nġ* (ñq), as in *singan* 'sing,' *sęnġan* 'singe,' literally 'make to sing,' and when doubled, double *ġġ* being written *cg* for the sake of distinction, as in *frogga* 'frog,' *bryċġ* 'bridge.' It may be observed that the stopped *ġ* closely resembles in sound the MnE (dʒ), into which it passed in most words. Initial *g*, *ġ* seem to have been originally stops—(g, q)—but initial *ġ* was also pronounced (j), as in *ġeard* 'yard, court.'

103. The combinations *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, *hw* represented the voiceless sounds (l̥) etc., as in *hlūd* 'loud,' *hring* 'ring,' *hwīt* 'white,' the sound of *hw* being still preserved in E. Non-initial *h* had the sound (x), as in *þurh* 'through,' together with that of (ç), especially in connection with front vowels, as in *ġesihþ* 'sight.'

104. *f*, *s*, *þ* had the voice sounds (v, z, ð) between vowels

and other vowels or vowellike consonants, as in *drīfan* 'drive,' *frēosan* 'freeze,' *eorþe* 'earth.'

Middle English.

105. In the ME period the French orthography was introduced—Norman at first, but afterwards Parisian.

106. The Old French spelling was, like the OE, phonetic. But by the time Old French came to be written down in the Roman alphabet, the Old Latin pronunciation had been greatly changed.

Thus *y* had become (i), so that this sound could be written indifferently *i* or *y*, the latter being often preferred because *i* was written without a dot whence *in* was liable to be confused with *m* and so on. This usage was introduced into England, whence such ME spellings as *wȳf*, *many* = OE *wīf* 'woman,' *manig* 'many.'

107. Latin *o* in Old French often passed into a sound between close (o) and (u), which was accordingly written sometimes *u*, sometimes *o*. We denote this *o* = (u) by *ŏ*. This was also introduced in ME, as in *sŏnne* 'sun,' *sŏne* 'son' = OE *sunne*, *sunu*.

108. In Late Parisian French the diphthong *ou* was smoothed into (uu), as in *douz* (duuts) 'sweet' = Modern French *douce* (dus), and so *ou* was introduced into Late ME to express long *u*, as in *hous* (huus) = OE *hūs*.

109. Latin *ū* was fronted to (yy) in Old French, and as there was no longer any symbol at hand for the new sound, the old one was kept, as in *lune* (lyynə) 'moon' from Latin *lūna*. This *ü*—as we write it for the sake of distinction—was introduced into ME, and was written not only in imported French words, such as *nātūre* 'nature,' but also in

native words, such as *sünne* 'sin' from OE *synn*, which was thus confounded in writing with *sunne* 'sun.'

110. In Late Latin *e* was written instead of *ae*, as in *celum* for *caelum* 'heaven,' which usage passed into Old French, and from thence into ME orthography, in which *e*, *ee*, *o*, *oo* were used to express (*ee*, *oo*) as well as (*ee*, *oo*). We write the open ME sounds $\bar{ɛ}$, $\bar{ɔ}$, so as to distinguish the vowels in *dɛ̄d* 'dead,' *stɔ̄n* 'stone' from those in *dēd* 'deed,' *mōne* 'moon.'

111. In French, Latin *c*=(k) became (s) before front vowels, as in *ciel* 'heaven.' In ME this 'soft *c*' was kept in words of French origin, such as *fāce*; and to prevent confusion, the OE *c* was written *k* before front vowels, in imitation of Old French usage, as in *king*, *c* being kept—as in Old French—before back vowels and consonants, as in *cŏmen* 'come,' *clɛ̣ne* 'pure'= OE *cuman*, *clǣne*.

112. In some cases Old French made Latin *c* into (tʃ), written *ch*. This digraph was used in ME not only in words of French origin, such as *chief* (from Latin *caput* 'head'), but also to express the ME development of OE *ċ*, as in *chirche*, *chürche* from OE *ċiriċe*, *ċyriċe*.

113. The OE *cw* was expressed in ME by the Latin and French *qu*, as in *quēne* 'queen' from OE *cwēn*. In Parisian French (kw, gw) afterwards dropped their (w), and so *qu*, *gu* came to be regarded as the symbols of 'hard' (k, g), as in *qui*, *langue* (ki, laŋg) from Latin *quī*, *lingua*. Hence such English spellings as *tongue*= OE *tunge*.

114. In Old French, Latin *j*=(j) together with *g* (especially before front vowels) developed into (dʒ), as in *joindre*, *gentil* (whence English *join*, *gentle*) from Latin *jungere*, *gentīlis*. As this soft French *g* had nearly the same sound as the ME development of OE stopped *ġ*, the OE *sęngan*, *brycg*

were written *sengen*, *brigge* in ME, this *gg* being afterwards written *dg*, as in the present English *bridge*, to distinguish it from the *gg* in *beggar*.

115. The later ME use of *y* as a consonant, as in *yŏng* 'young' = OE *ġeong*, is also French.

116. Latin *z* kept its sound (dz) in early Old French, being also used to express (ts). The former sound was made into (z), and was then introduced into ME, where it was sometimes used to express the OE voiced *s*, as in *wezele* 'weasel' = OE *weosole*.

117. Latin *v* = (w) became (v) in Old French, and so was used in ME to express the OE voiced *f*, as in *alīve* from OE *on līfe* 'in life.'

118. As (w) after a vowel hardly differs in sound from (u), such words as OE *snāw* were in ME written both *snōu* and *snōw*, and the latter spelling was then extended to *ou* = *uu*, as in *how* from OE *hū*.

119. In ME the Latin and Old French *th* gradually supplanted the OE *þ*, which was confused in writing with other letters, especially *y*, whence the old-fashioned contraction *ye* = ME *þe*, *the*.

Modern English.

120. In Early MnE weak *e* was generally dropped—always when final—as in (naam, fal, stoonz) = ME *nāme*, *falle*(*n*), *stōnes*. At the same time double consonants between vowels were shortened, as in (ʃiliŋ, fulər, sitiŋ) = ME *shilling*, *fuller*, *sittinge*. But as the doubling served to show that the preceding vowel was short, the ME spellings were retained, and the doubling was extended to words which in ME had a single consonant, as in *penny*, *herring*, *copper* = ME *peni*, *hering*, *coper*. Final *e* being now silent was often omitted in

writing, so that such words as ME *belle* were written *bell* with a final double consonant, which led to a frequent doubling of final ME consonants to show shortness of the preceding vowel, as in *all, small, glass*=ME *al, smal, glas.* But this doubling was not carried out uniformly. So as the dropping of final *e* in such words as *hate* (haat), *hope* (hoop)= ME *hātien, hōpien* would have led to confusion with such words as *hat, hop*, final *e* was kept in them, and came at last to be regarded as a mark of the length of the preceding vowel; and accordingly was added to many words which had no final *e* in ME, as in *wine, stone*=ME *wīn, stǭn*, OE *wīn, stān.*

121. As ME *ē* and *ę̄, ō* and *ǭ* diverged more and more in sound in MnE, they were distinguished by restricting the spellings *ee, oo* to the close sounds, and also, in many words, by writing the open sounds *ea, oa*: *see, moon* = ME *sēn* (infinitive), *mōne*, OE *sēon, mōna*; *sea, boat*=ME *sę̄, bǭt*, OE *sǣ, bāt.* But the last sound was also expressed by single *o*, as in *stone* from OE *stān*, while single *e* was often used for the close sound, as in *complete.*

122. In early MnE the spelling was still quite unsettled, but after a time it was found more convenient to keep one spelling for each word, even when there were differences of pronunciation; and as the number of books increased, the fixed orthography adopted by the printers became more and more general, until at last English spelling became entirely traditional and unphonetic, through failing to keep pace with the changes in pronunciation. Thus we still keep the ME spelling *knight*=(kniçt) although we pronounce the word (nait). So also with such spellings as *rite, right, wright.*

123. Such spellings, though unphonetic now, were not originally so. We got our first intentionally unphonetic

spellings from France, where, towards the close of the Old French period, **etymological spellings** were introduced. Thus *dete, dette* was made into *debte* by the influence of its Latin original *debitum*. This latinizing sometimes led to etymologically incorrect spellings, as when *autour* (Modern French *auteur*) was made into *authour*.

124. These spellings were soon introduced into MnE, where some of them by degrees corrupted the pronunciation, as in the case of *author*.

OLD ENGLISH SOUNDS.

Stress.

125. In OE the general principle of word-stress is to put the strong stress on the first syllable of a word, as in *ˈfiscere* 'fisher,' *ˈmisdæd* 'misdeed,' *ˈcwicseolfor* 'quicksilver,' literally 'living silver.' But there are some exceptions:—

126. Such combinations as the adverbs *ofˈdūne* 'down,' literally 'off-the-hill,' *tōˈdæġ* 'today,' were originally independent word-groups, which kept the original stress.

127. Adverbs of full and distinct meaning took strong stress when followed by a verb, as in *ˈinn ːgān* 'go in,' *ˈbī ːstandan* 'stand by,' 'help.' But if the verb precedes, it takes the principal stress: *hē ˈēode ːinn* 'he went in,' *hē ˈstōd him bī* 'he helped him.' When these particles precede their verbs, they are felt to form compounds with them, so that we may write these groups as single words—*inngān, bīstandan*. But as these particles are, as we see, liable to be separated from their verbs in other constructions, we call them **separable** particles.

128. But if these particles are compounded with nouns or adjectives instead of verbs, they cannot be shifted, as in *·inngang* 'going in,' 'entrance,' *bīspell* 'by-tale,' 'parable.'

129. In OE there is also a class of **inseparable** particles, such as *for-* in *for·ġiefan* 'forgive,' *be-* in *be·sęttan* 'beset.'

130. While abstract nouns compounded with inseparable particles throw the stress on to the particle in the usual way, as in *·forwyrd* 'destruction,' parallel to *inngang*, the corresponding verbs take the stress on the verb itself, as in *for-·weorþan* 'perish,' *for·ġiefan*. This shifting of stress is often accompanied by phonetic weakening of the particle; thus to the strong form of the prefix in *·bīgang* 'going round,' 'cultivation,' corresponds the weak *be-* in *be·gān* 'go round,' 'cultivate,' *besęttan*.

Quantity.

131. Long vowels in weak syllables were shortened in OE, as in *begān* (130).

132. On the other hand, short final strong vowels were lengthened, as in *hwā* 'who,' *þū* 'thou' = Germanic *hwa*, *þu*. Hence the short vowel of the unstressed article *se* in *-se mann* 'the man' is lengthened when the word is used in the sense of 'he,' as in *·sē -þe* 'he who.'

133. In Anglian, short vowels were lengthened before vowel-like consonants followed by another consonant—'group-lengthening'—as in *āld* 'old,' *lōng* 'long,' *blīnd* 'blind,' *dūmb* 'dumb' = Early West-Saxon *eald*, *lęng*, *lang*, *blind*, *dumb*.

Vowels.

134. a (ę), æ, ea. These vowels all correspond to Germanic *a*. Germanic *a* was kept only before nasals, as in *mann*, *lang*. Everywhere else it was fronted to *æ*, as in *æcer*

'field,' *fæder*. Before 'group *r* and *l*,' that is, before *r* and *l* followed by a consonant, and before strong *h*, an *a* was developed, as in *heard*, *ealđ* 'old,' *ġe·seah* 'saw'; also before *x*, as in *weaxan* 'grow,' because *x* originally=(xs). Before a back vowel in the next syllable *æ* became the back vowel *a*, as in *dagas* 'days,' compared with *dæġ* 'day.' In Anglian *a* before nasals became *ǫ*—as also often in Early West-Saxon —and *æ* before group *l* became *a*, so that the Anglian forms are *mǫnn*, *lǭng* (133); *heard*; *all*, *āld*.

135. i, e, eo. In OE, Germanic *e* before nasals became *i*, whence OE *bindan* 'bind,' *niman* 'take,' compared with *helpan* 'help,' *stelan* 'steal.' In OE *e* before group *r* became *eo* much in the same way as *æ* became *ea* (134), as in *steorra* 'star,' *eorþe*. *e*, *i* became *eo*, *io* before a back vowel in the next syllable, as in *heofon* 'heaven,' *cliopian* 'call,'=*hefon*, *ċlipian*.

136. u, o. In OE, Germanic *o* became *u* before nasals, whence OE *ġebunden* 'bound,' *ġenumen* 'taken,' compared with *ġeholpen* 'helped,' *ġestolen* 'stolen.'

137. The Germanic vowel *ā* is preserved in West-Saxon, as in *fāer* 'danger,' *āfen* 'evening,' being narrowed to *ē* in Anglian and Kentish—*fēr*, *ēfen*.

Mutation.

138. Mutation is the influence exercised by a vowel on the vowel of a preceding syllable, by which the first vowel is modified in the direction of the second one. But the most important mutations in OE are the **front** mutations, caused by Germanic *i* and *j*, which after they had caused the mutation were generally lost or modified in OE:—

a (æ) . . . ę. *faran* 'go,' 'travel,' *fęrian* 'convey'; *mann* 'man,' *męnn* 'men.'

ā . . . ǣ. *hāl* 'whole,' 'sound,' *hælan* 'heal'; *ān* 'one,' *ænig* 'any.' This mutation remains in the non-West-Saxon dialects, which change Germanic *ǣ* into *ē*. For convenience we will in future distinguish the West-Saxon Germanic *ǣ* by writing it *æ̂*, as in *æ̂fen* contrasted with *hælan*. Mutated Germanic *ǣ* remains unchanged in West-Saxon, as in *læ̂ċe* 'physician,' *dæ̂d* 'deed,' and becomes *ē* in the other dialects: *lēċe*, *dēd*.

ea, eo . . . ie. *eald* 'old,' *ieldra* 'older'; *heord* 'herd,' *hierde* 'shepherd.' In Late West-Saxon this *ie* becomes *y* or *i*: *yldra*, *hyrde*. In Anglian the one *ie* appears as *e*, the other as *i*: *eldra*, *hirde*.

ēa, ēo . . . īe. *ġelēafa* 'belief,' *ġelīefan* 'believe,' *ēaca* 'increase' (noun), *ēac* 'also,' *īeċan* 'to increase'; *ġesēon* 'see,' *ġesīene* 'visible.' *īe* in Late West-Saxon becomes *ȳ*, *ī*: *īċan*, *ġesȳne*. In the other dialects it becomes *ē*: *ġelēfan*, *ġesēne*.

u, o . . . y. *full* 'full,' *ġefyllan* 'to fill,' *cyning* 'king'; *gold* 'gold,' *gylden* 'golden.' *y* in Late Kentish becomes *e*, as in *ġefellan*.

ū . . . ȳ. *cūþ* 'known,' *cȳþan* 'proclaim,' *mūs* 'mouse,' *mȳs* 'mice.' *ȳ* becomes *ē* in Late Kentish, as in *mēs*.

ō . . . ē. *fōda* 'food,' *fēdan* 'feed,' *fōt* 'foot,' *fēt* 'feet.'

Consonant Influence.

139. In West-Saxon the front glide between *ċ*, *ġ* and a following vowel often developed into a full *e* forming a diphthong with the vowel.

140. ċæ-, ġæ- passed into *ċea-*, *ġea-*, as in *sċeal* 'shall,' *ġeaf* 'gave' [compare *cwæþ* 'said'] = non-West-Saxon *sċæl*, *ġæf*. This *ea* was mutated into *ie* in West-Saxon in such words as the noun *ċiele* 'chill' compared with *calan* 'be cold,' *ġiest* 'stranger' = non-West-Saxon *ċęle*, *ġęst*.

141. **ċĕ-, ġĕ-** became *ċēa-, ġēa-*, as in *sċēap* 'sheep,' *ġēafon* 'they gave' [compare *cwĕdon* 'they said'] = non-West-Saxon *sċēp, ġēfon.*

142. **ċe-, ġe-** became *ċie-, ġie-*, as in *sċield* 'shield,' *ġiefan* 'give' [compare *cweþan*] = non-West-Saxon *sċeld, sċēld, ġefan.*

143. Through similar changes *ġ* followed by a diphthong in West-Saxon often corresponds to Germanic *j*, which in OE seems to have been made into the stop consonant (q), as in *ġēar* 'year' Anglian *ġēr, ġeoc* 'yoke,' *ġeong* 'young.'

144. In Anglian, the back consonants *c, h, g* smooth a preceding diphthong. *ea* became *æ*, as in *ġesæh* = non-Anglian *ġeseah. eo* became *e*, as in *fehtan* 'fight' = West-Saxon *feohtan. ēa, ēo* became *ē*, as in *ēge* 'eye,' *hēh* 'high,' *flēgan* 'to fly' = West-Saxon *ēage, hēah, flēogan.*

145. *w* often changes a following *eo* into *o* or *u*, especially in Late OE, as in *sweord, sword, swurd* 'sword.'

Consonants.

146. In OE *h* between vowels or between vowel-like consonants and vowels was dropped, often with vowel-lengthening, as in *Wealh* 'foreigner,' 'Welshman,' plur. *Wealas, Wēalas, Wielisċ* 'Welsh,' *ġesēon* 'see' from *ġeseohan* [compare *ġeseah* 'saw'].

147. Open *g, ġ* became *h* before a breath consonant, as in *byht* 'bending' [*būgan* 'bend'].

148. Final open *g* was also unvoiced in Late West-Saxon, as in *troh* 'trough,' *ġenōh* 'enough,' *burh* = earlier *trog, ġenōg, burg.*

149. *r* is often transposed, as in *iernan* 'run'—the original form being preserved in *ġerinnan* 'run together,' 'coagulate'

—especially in Late Northumbrian, as in *þirda* 'third'= West-Saxon *þridda* [compare *þrēo* 'three'].

150. *r* in some words does not correspond to Germanic *r* but to a Germanic weak form of *s*, as in *wǽron* 'were' compared with *wæs* 'was,' *ġecoren* 'chosen.' So also *g* and *d* often represent Germanic weakenings of *h* and *þ* respectively, as in *cwǽdon* 'they said' compared with *cweþan*, *slaġen* 'struck' compared with *slēan* [from *sleahan*] 'strike.'

151. Double consonants in OE often represent a Germanic single consonant+*j*, as in *sęllan* 'give' from **saljan*, the single consonant appearing in such forms as *sęleþ* 'he gives,' pointing to **saliþ*, etc. Germanic *kj*, *gj*, *fj* appear in OE respectively as *cċ*, *ġġ* and *bb*, as in *wręċċa* 'one exiled,' *lęġġan* 'lay,' *hębban* 'raise' compared with *wracu* 'state of exile,' *læġ* 'he lay,' *hafen* 'raised.' Germanic *rj*, on the other hand, appears as *ri* in OE, as in *fęrian* 'carry' [*faran* 'go'].

Gradation.

152. By gradation we understand certain traditional connections between the vowels which enable us to classify them under the following **gradation-series**:—

a . . . ō. *faran* 'proceed,' *fōr* 'proceeded'; *fōr* 'journey,' *ġefēra* 'companion.'

e (i, eo) . . . a (æ, ea) . . . u (o). *windan* 'wind,' *wand* 'he wound,' *wundon* 'they wound'; *węndan* 'turn.' *beran* 'carry,' *bær*, *ġeboren* 'carried,' *byr-þen* 'burden.' *beorgan* 'protect'; *burg* 'fortress,' 'city.'

a (æ, ea) . . . æ̂. *bær* 'he carried,' *bǽron* 'they carried'; *bǽr* 'bier.' *spræc* 'he spoke'; *sprǽċ* 'speech.'

ī . . . ā . . . i. *wrītan* 'write,' *wrāt* 'he wrote,' *writon* 'they wrote'; *ġewrit* 'writing' (noun). *belīfan* 'remain'; *lāf* 'residue,' 'remains,' whence by mutation *lǣfan* 'leave.'

ēo (ū) . . . **ēa** . . . **u** (o). *forlēosan* 'lose'; *lēas* 'devoid of,' *ā-līesan* 'release'; *losian* 'be lost,' 'perish.' *būgan* 'bend,' 'bow'; *bēag* 'ring'; *boga* 'bow' (noun), *byht* 'bending.'

MIDDLE ENGLISH SOUNDS.

Stress.

153. In ME the noun- and adjective-prefixes *al-*, *mis-*, *un-* throw the stress forward, as in *al·mihti*, *mis·dēd*, *un·cūþ* 'unknown' = OE *·ælmihtiġ*, *·misdǽd*, *·uncūþ*.

154. In Old French the stress generally fell on the same syllable as in Latin, as in *na·ture* = Latin *nā·tūram*. Through the dropping of final Latin syllables many French words thus came to have the stress on the last syllable, as in *o·nour* = *ho·nōrem*, *pi·te* = *pie·tātem*. When first introduced into ME, French words kept their original stress: *nā·tūre*, *o·nūr*, *pi·tē*; but such words afterwards threw the stress back on to the first syllable by the analogy of native E. words such as *·fader*, *·bodi*, becoming *·nātūre*, etc.

155. In longer French words, where it would have been inconvenient to throw the stress back to the first syllable, it was drawn back from the end to the middle of the word, as in *sŏve·reynetē*, *con·dicioun* (kon·disiuun) and the other words in *-ioun* = Latin *-iōnem*.

156. Many words of French origin compounded with particles, such as *a·vow* (a·vuu), *de·fense*, *dis·ȝse* (dis·eezə), kept their original stress by the analogy of native words such as *a·rīsen*, *be·cumen*.

Quantity.

157. The first quantity-change that took place in ME was the lengthening of OE short consonants after a short strong vowel, so that OE *in* 'in' and *inn* 'dwelling' were both written *in*. But double consonants before vowels were kept in ME in pronunciation as well as spelling, so that, for instance, *sunne* 'sun'=OE *sunne* was kept distinct from *sune* 'son'=OE *sunu*.

158. The OE group-lengthenings were kept up in ME, as in *ǭld, lǭng, blīnd, dūmb, doumb*=Old Anglian *āld, lǭng, blīnd, dūmb*. Otherwise OE long vowels were generally shortened before two consonants, as in *wisdōm, kepte* 'kept'=OE *wīsdōm, cēpte*.

In Transition ME the long vowels before *ng* and *mb* were shortened, whence MnE *long, young* (jɐŋ), *dumb*.

159. In Late ME short vowels before a consonant+vowel were lengthened, as in *nāme, mēte* 'meat,' *brōken* 'broken'= OE *nama, mete, ġebrocen*. But the high vowels *i, u* were never lengthened, as in *writen* 'written,' *sune*=OE *ġewriten, sunu*.

160. Vowels were not lengthened in final strong syllables, as in *yaf* 'gave,' *God*=OE *ġeaf, God*, because the final consonants had already been lengthened (157).

161. Short vowels are often preserved before an *i* or a vowellike consonant in the next syllable, as in *mani, hamer, sadel, troden*, long vowels being sometimes shortened under these circumstances, as in *laþer*=OE *lēaþor*.

Vowels.

162. In ME the OE weak vowels are generally levelled under *e*, especially when final: ME *name, sune*=OE *nama,*

sunu. There was a tendency to drop weak *e* altogether after another weak syllable, as in *lādi* 'lady' from OE *hlāfdiġe*.

163. Many words which in OE end in a consonant, take final *e* in ME, which they get from the OE inflected forms; thus ME *quēne* 'queen' comes not from the OE nom. sing. *cwēn*, but from the acc. sing. *cwēne*, plur. nom. *cwēna*, etc. Other examples are *sinne* 'sin,' *dale* 'valley,' *bede* 'prayer' =OE *synn*, *dæl*, *ġebed*, plurals *synna*, *dalu*, *ġebedu*. Such forms as *narwe* 'narrow,' *yelwe* 'yellow'=OE *nearu*, *ġeolu*, plurals *nearwe*, *ġeolwe* arose in the same way.

164. a. In the strong vowels the most marked and earliest change is the smoothing of the OE diphthongs, shown in Late ME *hard*, *sterre* 'star,' *brēd* 'bread,' *dēp* 'deep'=OE *heard*, *steorra*, *brēad*, *dēop*.

165. In Early ME *ea* became (æ), and then, together with old *æ*,=OE *heard*, *wæs*, was broadened to (a), as in *hard*, *was*. OE *a* was kept throughout in such words as *man*, *faren*. ME *a* in such words as *al*, *half*, comes from Anglian *all*, *half*, not from West-Saxon *eall*, *healf*.

166. i, ü. In North-Thames E. *i* corresponds not only to OE *i*, but also to OE *y*, as in *sinne*. But (y) was still preserved in the Southern dialect, as in *sünne*, being represented by *e* in Middle, as well as Old Kentish, as in *senne*. The London dialect generally has *i*=OE *y*, but some words have the Southern, and a few the Kentish forms: *sinne*, *büsi*, *kernel*=OE *synn*, *bysīġ* 'occupied,' *cyrnel* 'kernel.' In some words (y) was broadened to (u), especially after lip-consonants, as in *wŏrien* 'worry,' *mŏche* 'much'=OE *wyrġan*, *myċel*, *miċel*.

167. e. OE close (e) became open (*e*) in Early ME, so that OE *e* and *ę* were levelled under the latter sound, which

we write simply *e* in ME, as in *helpen, eten, rest, mete*=OE *helpan, etan; ręst, męte.* OE *eo* also became open *e* in Late ME, as in *erþe, hevene.* All these *e*s are liable to be lengthened in Late ME (159), as in *ēlen, mēte.*

168. u. OE *u* was kept unchanged in ME, as in *sune.*

169. o. OE close *o* became open in Early ME, as in *folk, bodien* 'proclaim'=OE *folc, bodian,* being liable to lengthening in Late ME, as in *bǭdien.*

170. The OE long vowels *ī, ē, ǣ, ū, ō* were generally preserved unchanged in ME, *ē, ǣ* being also the representatives of OE *ēo, ēa* respectively (164): *wīn, kēne* 'bold,' *dēp, sę̄* 'sea,' *hę̄ved* 'head,' *hūs, hous, gōd* 'good'=OE *wīn, cēne, dēop, sǣ, hēafod, hūs, gōd.* So also ME *fīnden, fēld* 'field,' *hūnd,* 'dog,' *wōrd* 'word'=Anglian *fīndan, fēld, hūnd, wōrd* (133). *ī* is sometimes the result of raising Anglian *ē* before open *ġ* (which was then lost) and front *h,* as in *īe* 'eye,' *hīh* 'high'=Old Anglian *ēġe, hēh.* So also open *g* was absorbed by a preceding *u* or *ū,* as in *fūel* 'bird,' *būen* later *bowen* 'bend'=OE *fugol, būgan.* It is to be observed that ME *ē* represents not only the common OE *ē* in *cēne,* but also the Anglian *ē*= West-Saxon *ǽ* and *īe,* as in *ēven* 'evening,' *dēde* 'deed,' *hēren* 'hear,' *isēne* 'seen'=West-Saxon *ǽfen, dǽd, hīeran, ġesīene.* But *ę̄*=*ǽ* is frequent before and after *r,* as in *drę̄den* 'dread,' *wę̄ren* 'were'=West-Saxon *on·drǽdan, wǽron.*

171. In South-Thames E. *ǣ* and *ǽ* when shortened pass through *æ* into *a,* while in Northern not only Anglian *ē*=*ǽ* but also *ǣ* shorten to *e,* Midland generally showing the same tendency. Hence such words as OE *hlǣfdige* 'lady,' *lǣdde* 'led,' *nǽddre* 'serpent' appear in Southern as *lavedi, lādi, ladde, naddre,* in Northern as *ledi, ledde, neddre.*

172. OE *ā* remained unchanged in the Northern dialect,

as in *gā* 'go,' *stān*=OE *gān*, *stān*; elsewhere it became *ǭ*: *gǭ*, *stǭn*, *lǭng*. French words, such as *dāme*, kept their *ā*.

173. OE *ȳ* became *ī* in North-Thames E., as also in the London dialect, but was preserved in the Southern dialect, as in *fūr* 'fire'=OE *fȳr*, which also preserved Late West-Saxon *ȳ*=older *īe*, as in *hüren* 'hear,' *brūsen* 'bruise'=Early West-Saxon *hīeran*, *brīesan*. Kentish kept its *ē*, as in *mēs* 'mice.' *ū* was brought into London E. in French words containing *u*, *ui*, as in *dūc*, *cūre*, *fruit*, *frūt*; when final or before a vowel it became *ēu*, as is shown by such spellings as *vertew*, *crewel*=*vertu*, *cruel*.

174. Most of the ME diphthongs are the result of the weakening of OE *w* and open *g* and *ġ* after vowels, *w* and open *g* becoming *u*, as in *dǭu*, *dew*, *drauen*=OE *dēaw*, *dragan*, open *ġ* becoming *i*, as in *wei* 'way'=OE *weġ*. The glide between a back vowel and a following *h* developed into diphthongic *u*, which was sometimes written, sometimes not, as in *broghte*, *brought* 'brought'=OE *brohte*. The following are the ME diphthongs:—

ai=OE *æġ*, as in *dai*, *saide* 'said'=OE *dæġ*, *sæġde*.

ei=OE *eġ*, *ġġ*, as in *wei*, *leide* 'laid'=OE *weġ*, *lġġde*.

ēi=OE *ēġ*, as in *hēi* 'hay'=OE *hēġ*, *grēi*=Anglian *grēġ*, West-Saxon *grǽg*. But OE *ēġ* generally becomes *ī* in ME (170).

ǭi=OE *āġ*, as in *kǭie* 'key'=*cāġ*.

oi occurs only in French words, such as *joie*, *vois*.

au=OE *ag*, as in *drauen*. In such words as *laughter* from Scandinavian *hlahtr* it is the result of glide-development. In words of French origin *au* corresponds sometimes to Old French *au*, as in *cause*, sometimes to Old French nasal *a* before a nasal consonant, as in *chaumbre*, *servaunt*=Old French *chambre* (tʃaanmbrə), etc., the spellings *chambre*, etc.

without *u* occurring also in ME, where the pronunciation varied between pure (aa*n*) and (au), which was an E. imitation of the former.

ēu=OE *ēw*, *ēow*, as in *nēwe* 'new'=Old Anglian *nēowe*, West-Saxon *nīwe*. French *ü* had this sound in certain cases (173).

ę̄u=OE *ǣw*, *ēaw*, as in *dę̄u*.

ou=OE *ow*, *og*, as in *tow*, *bowe*=OE *tow*, *boga*.

ōu=OE *ōw*, as in *stōu* 'place,' *blōwen* 'bloom'=OE *stōw*, *blōwan*. In Early ME this diphthong also results from the development of a glide before *h*, as in *inōuh*—also written *inōh*—'enough,' from OE *ġenōh*, earlier *ġenōg* (148); this *ōu* becomes *uu* in late ME: *ynough* (i·nuux).

ǫu=OE *āw*, *āg*, as in *blǭwen* 'blow' (wind), *ǭwen* 'own' =OE *blāwan*, *āgen*.

Consonants.

175. In Old French *h* was silent in most words of Latin origin, the silent French *h* being sometimes written in ME, sometimes not, but never pronounced, as in *onūr*, *honour*, *hour*, *horrible*.

176. OE *hr-*, *hl-*, *hn-* became voiced in ME, as in *ring*, *lūd*, *nŏte*; *hw-* was kept, being written *wh*, as in *what*.

177. The hisses were voiced initially in all native words in South-Thames E., as shown by such spellings as *volk*, *zingen*, but not in French words, such as *fę̄ste* 'feast,' *sauf* 'safe,' because this change had been carried out before the introduction of French words. Southern *v* was introduced into the London dialect in a few words, such as *vat*=OE *fæt* 'vessel.'

178. OE *ċ* and stopped *ġ* developed into the compound consonants (cǫ, qj)—that is, nearly into their MnE sounds (tʃ, dʒ)—as in *chīld*, *sengen*, OE *ċċ*, *cg* being written *cch*,

gg=(ccç, qqj), as in *wrecche, seġġen* 'say'=OE *wręċċa, sęcgan.*

179. Open OE *g* was rounded into (ʒ*w*), which passed into (w) and then (u) (174). *w*=OE *g* was kept after a consonant, as in *folwen* 'follow'=OE *folgian.*

180. Strong *h* was rounded into (x*w*) in the same way, as shown by its influence on preceding vowels (174). As final *h* in ME often corresponded to medial *w* in such pairs as *inōh* sing., *inōwe* plur.=Late OE *ġenōh, ġenōge,* OE final *h* was changed by this analogy into *w* when an *e* was added —as was frequently the case (163): thus ME *furwe* 'furrow,' *holwe* 'hollow'=OE *furh, holh.* When final *e* was dropped at the end of the ME period, a resulting final *w* was changed to *u*: *folu, holu.*

181. Open *ġ* was generally weakened to *i* after consonants as well as in diphthongs: *bürien* 'bury'=OE *byrġan.*

182. Final OE front *h* was voiced in ME when a vowel was added; thus *hīh* 'high' has pl. *hīʒe, hīe* (170), from which a new uninflected form *hī* was formed.

183. In OE the Anglian dialects seem to have changed medial *ċ, ġ* to *c, g* before a back vowel, as in Anglian *sēcan*= West-Saxon *sēċan.* Hence in ME we often find North-Thames *k,* as in *sēke,* corresponding to South-Thames *ch,* as in *sēche,* MnE having the Northern form in *seek,* the Southern in *beseech.* So also MnE *cold, gall* point to Anglian *cāld, galle, chalk* to Southern *ċealc.*

184. Scandinavian words keep their (k) and (g), as in *ketel* 'kettle,' *gerþ* 'girth.' The Northern forms *mikel* 'great,' *give,* etc.,=Southern *müchel, yiven,* may also be due to Scandinavian influence.

185. In some cases the fluctuation between the two classes of consonants is due to change of vowel in inflection.

Thus the Standard ME *gate* 'gate' points to the OE pl. *gatu*, the Northern *yate* to the sing. (Anglian) *ġæt*. So also *beginnen*=OE *beġinnan* owes its *g* to the pret. and past partic. *begann*, *begunnen*.

186. *ng* kept its (g) not only in such words as *finger*, *English*, but also in *sing*, *singer*, etc.

187. *sċ* passed through (sj) into (ʃ), written *sch*, *ssh*, *sh*, as in *short*, *fish*=OE *sċort*, *fisċ*. Scandinavian *sk* was kept before all vowels, as in *skī*=Icelandic *skȳ* 'cloud.'

188. The combinations *lr*, *nr*, *ml* became *ldr*, *ndr*, *mbl* in ME, as in *alder* (the tree), *þunder* from OE *aler* genitive *alre*, *þunor* genitive *þunres*.

189. Several of the consonants were liable to be dropped in weak syllables. Thus to the strong *ich* 'I'=OE *iċ* there corresponded a weak *ī*, which in Late ME almost supplanted the strong *ich*. Weak final *n* was frequently dropped, as in *gāme*, *bīnde* infin., *ibūnde* past partic.=OE *gamen*, *bindan*, *ġebunden*. So also the dropping of *l* in *muche*=OE *miċel*, *ēch*=OE *ælċ* 'each,' of the *w* and *l* in *such*=OE *swelċ*, seems to have begun in weak (unstressed) forms of these words.

English Vowels.

OE	ME	MnE
mann	man	man (mæn)
sæt	sat	sat (sæt)
heard	hard	hard (haad)
nama	nāme	name (neim)
witan	witen	wit (wit)
helpan	helpen	help (help)
heofon	hevene	heaven (hevn)
stelan	stę̄len	steal (stijl)
sęttan	setten	set (set)
męte	mę̄te	meat (mijt)
sunu	sune	son (sʉn)
synn	sinne	sin (sin)
oxa	oxe	ox (oks)
open	ǭpen	open (oupn)
stān	stǭn	stone (stoun)
dæl	dę̄l	deal (dijl)
drēam	drę̄m	dream (drijm)
wīn	wīn	wine (wain)
grēne	grēne	green (grijn)
dēop	dēp	deep (dijp)
hūs	hūs	house (haus)
mōd	mōd	mood (muwd)
fȳr	fīr	fire (faiər)

Modern English Vowels.

ME	fMn		sMn	thMn	
a	*man*	æ, a	æ	æ	æ
	path	æ, a	ææ	ææ	aa
i	*wit*	*i*	*i*	*i*	*i*
e	*end*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*
u	*son*	*u*	ʌ	ɐ	ɐ
o	*ox*	*o*	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ
ā	*name*	ææ, aa	*ee*	ee	*e*i
ī	*wine*	əi	əi	əi	ai
ē	*green*	ii	ii	ii	*i*j
ę̄	*deal*	*ee*	ee	ee, ii	
ū	*house*	öu	əu	əu	au
ō	*moon*	uu	uu	uu	*u*w
ǭ	*stone*	*oo*	oo	oo	*o*u
ai	*day*	ai, *ee*	æi, *ee*	ee	*e*i
ei	*they*	*e*i, *ee*	*ee*		
oi	*boil*	oi, ui	oi, ʌi	oi, əi	*o*i
au	*saw*	au, ɔɔ	ɔɔ	ɔɔ	ɔɔ
ēu (i͞u)	*new*	yy(u), iu	yy, iu	juu	j*u*w
ę̄u	*few*	*e*u	*e*u, iu		
ōu	*grow*	ou	ou, oo	oo	*o*u
ǭu	*know*				

MODERN ENGLISH SOUNDS.

Vowels.

190. The most convenient way of dealing with the MnE vowels is to take each Late ME vowel separately, and trace its history down to the present time, making a threefold division of the period into **First** MnE (1500–1600 or later), **Second** MnE (1600–1700), and **Third** MnE (1700–).

191. a was gradually advanced to (æ). Before *l* not followed by a vowel it became (au), as in *fall*, *calm* (faul, kaulm). (a) was also kept after (w, wh), as in *was*, *what*, where it was rounded in Second MnE, whence the present (woz, whot). In Second MnE (æ) was lengthened before (s, þ) and in some other cases, as in *glass*, *path* (glææs, pææþ), being afterwards broadened into (aa).

192. i, e have generally remained unchanged. But in First MnE *er* final or before a consonant became (ar) as in *star*, *heart*=ME *sterre*, *herte*.

193. u was preserved in First MnE, as in *full*, *come* (kum). In Second MnE it was unrounded and lowered to its present sound (ɐ). But before this lowering took place it was generally rounded back again to (u) between a lip-consonant and (l), as in *full*, and in other words after lip-consonants, as in *put*.

194. ü generally appears as *i* in MnE. But (y) was preserved in First MnE in some words still written with the French *u*, such as *busy*, *bury*=OE *bysiġ*, *byrġan*.

195. o kept its ME sound (*o*) in First MnE, as in *ox*, and was broadened to its present sound in Second MnE, being lengthened before the same consonants which lengthen (æ), as in *cross*, *off*. In Early MnE a glide-(u) developed

between (o) and *l* not followed by a vowel, as in *bowl* (boul) =OE *bolla, folk* (foulk).

196. ā underwent the same changes as *a*, being gradually narrowed till it passed from (ææ) into (*ee*), as in *name, take*. In Third MnE (*ee*) was further narrowed into close (ee), and then cleft into (ei, *e*i).

197. ī was diphthongized in First MnE into (əi), as in *wine, vice*, and was afterwards broadened into its present sound.

198. ē, ę̄. When the old ī had become (əi), the old ē developed into (ii), as in *see, field*=ME *sē(n), fēld*, ME ę̄ keeping its open sound (*ee*), as in *sea, there*, this (*ee*) being narrowed to (ee) in Second MnE, which by the middle of the Third MnE period was further narrowed to (ii), ME ē and ę being thus levelled, as in (sii)=*see, sea*, except in some words after *r*, as in *great*. In First MnE ę̄ was often shortened to (e), especially before stops, as in *bread, heavy*.

199. ū was diphthongized in the same way as ī, becoming (öu), the first element being gradually unrounded and broadened into its present sound.

200. ō, ǭ. When ū had become (öu), ME ō was moved up into the place of the old ū, as in *too, moon* (tuu, muun). ǭ kept its open sound (*oo*) at first, as in *go, stone*, and was narrowed to close (oo) in Second MnE, and then cleft into (ou, *o*u). The older sound has been preserved in *broad* (brɔd) through the influence of the (r). (uu)=ME ō was shortened in some words in First MnE, as in *flood* (flud), *mother*=OE *flōd, mōder*, whence the present (flʉd) etc. There was another shortening of (uu) in Second MnE, especially before stops, as in *good* (gud), *book, bosom*.

201. ai, ei. In MnE the ME diphthongs *ēi, ę̄i* shortened their first elements, and so were levelled under *ei*. As *ai*

became (æi) in First MnE, *ai* and *ei* became very similar in sound, so that there was a tendency to level *ei* under *ai*, as in *way*, *hay*=ME *wei*, *hēi*. In Second MnE these diphthongs were smoothed into (*ee*), so that *tail* and *tale*, etc. had the same sound, and went through the same changes.

202. oi was sometimes kept in First MnE, and sometimes became (ui), which in Second MnE became (ʊi), and then (əi), so that *boil* etc. was pronounced (bəil) and (boil), the former being the more usual pronunciation. In the next period (boil) etc. again got the upper hand by the help of the spelling, and the noun *bile*=OE *bȳle* 'ulcer' was mistakenly made into *boil*.

203. au was kept in First MnE, but soon passed into open (ɔɔ)—the long of our vowel in *not*—as in *saw*, *fall* (191), which in the Third period was narrowed to its present sound. In some words *au* lost its (u), as in *laugh*, which in Second MnE passed through (læf) into (lææf), (laaf), *halve*. *au*=French *a* before nasals (174) generally went through the same changes, as in *aunt*, *lamp*.

204. ēu, ūu; ęu. At the end of the ME period the cleaving of final *ūu* into *ēu* (173) had been extended to non-final *ūu* as well, so that this sound was completely levelled under *ēu*, which in First MnE became (iiu, iu) by the regular change of *ē* into (ii), as in *duke*, *fruit*, *new*, *true*=ME *dūc*, *frūt*, *nēwe*, *trēwe*. ME *ęu* remained in First MnE, but with the usual shortening of the first element, as in *few* (feu) =ME *fęwe*, and became (iu) in Second MnE, all the three ME sounds *ūu*, *ēu*, *ęu* being thus levelled under (iu). In the Third period (iu) shifted the stress on to the second element, becoming (iːuu, juu). The (j) was afterwards dropped after (r, ʃ, ʒ) and often after (l), as in *true*, *chuse*—now written *choose*—*juice*, *lute*.

205. **ōu, ǭu** both became (ou) in First MnE, as in *grow, know*=ME *grōwen, knǭwen*, which in the Second period was smoothed into (oo) and then narrowed into (oo), as in *go* (200), so that *know* and *no* etc. had the same vowel.

Weak Vowels.

206. In First MnE long weak vowels were generally shortened, as in *honour* (onur), *image* (imadʒ, imædʒ), *nation* (naasjun, nææsjun) = ME *onūr, imāge, nāciūn.* *e* before *r* was obscured to (ə), as in *better*, and occasionally other vowels as well in such words as *scholar, honour, nature.* But there was also an artificial pronunciation which tried to follow the spelling, pronouncing not only (skolar) etc. but also (naasjon, kondisjon) etc., although the *o* in *nation* was only another way of spelling (u), as in *son* = OE *sunu.*

207. In Second MnE the natural pronunciation got the upper hand again. Weak (u) passed by regular change into (ɐ), as in (neeʃɐn) *nation*, and such pronunciations as (piktər)=*picture*, which are now vulgarisms, were in general use. As (ɐ) was very similar in sound to (ə), there was a tendency to make (ə) the general weak vowel, although the older clear weak vowels were still kept in many cases, as in (næʃɐnæl, næʃonæl) *national*, now pronounced (næʃənəl).

Consonants.

208. During the transition from ME to MnE the hisses *þ, s, f*, became voiced in weak syllables, especially in inflectional *-es*, as in the gen. sing. *mannes* and the plur. *stǭnes*, whence MnE (mænz, stounz), the breath sounds being preserved in strong monosyllables such as *gēs, pens*=MnE (ns) contrasting with *penies*=MnE (peniz). Th[illegible] ʒe

was carried out in weak monosyllables, so that numerous doublets were formed. Thus the emphatic adverb *of*=MnE *off* preserved its (f), while the preposition *of* was weakened to (ov). There were similar doublets of *wiþ*, *is*, *his*, etc. Initial *þ* was voiced in the weak forms of some very frequent—mostly pronominal words—such as *þe*, *þē*, *þīn*, the strong forms being now lost.

209. Towards the end of the First MnE period (s) preceded by a weak vowel and followed by a strong vowel became (z), whence the Present English distinction between *exert* (ig·zəət) and *exercise* (·eksəsaiz), the (s) being preserved unchanged in the latter word because it is followed by a weak vowel. Other examples are *exhibit* compared with *exhibition*, *example*, *anxiety* (æŋ·zaiiti) compared with *anxious* (æŋʃəs), where the change of (s) into (ʃ) is a later one (214), *dessert*, *disease*, *dissolve*, *transact*.

Exceptions to this rule are the result of analogy. Thus *to absent* (əb·sent) owes its (s) to influence of the adjective *absent* (·æbsənt), *research* to the influence of *search*.

210. As we have seen, strong *h* appears in ME in the form of (ç) and (x*w*). In First MnE the former was weakened to a mere breath-glide, and then dropped, the preceding vowel being lengthened, so that ME *night* (niçt) passed through (niht) into (niit), whence by the regular change (nəit). The back-*gh* was kept in such words as *laugh*, *thought*, *enough* (laux*w*, þoux*w*t, þox*w*t, inux*w*), and in many words the lip element was exaggerated to (f)—(læf, lææf, þoft, þo*o*t, inæf).

211. **r** was kept unchanged in First MnE, being afterwards gradually weakened till it lost its trill everywhere. T[illegible] the end of the Third period it began to be

dropped everywhere except before a vowel, as in the present Standard E.

212. Already in First MnE (r) had developed a glide before it in such words as *fire*, *flower* (fəiər, flöuər)=ME *fīr*, *flūr*, and had broadened a preceding *e* into (a) (192). In Second MnE it began to modify preceding vowels in the direction of (ə), so that *er*, *ir*, *ur* came to be levelled under (ər, ɐr), as in *her* (hɐr), *fir*, *bird*, *fur*, *turn*. In Third MnE it modified preceding (ee) to (*ee*), as in *care* (keeɐ), *fair*, *their* contrasting with *name* (neem), *fail*, *veil*; and then broadened a preceding (æ) into (a), as in *star*, *hard*. ME *ēr*, *ōr* appear in Third MnE sometimes as (iir, uur), as in *fear*, *moor*, being sometimes broadened into (*ee*r, ɔr), as in *there*, *bear*, *floor*. In the present century (r) has been dropped everywhere except before a vowel, *r* final or before a consonant being represented only by a preceding glide-(ə), as in (faiə)=Early MnE (fəiər)=ME *fīr*, contrasting with *he* (hij), (ə) having been absorbed by a preceding mixed or broad vowel.

213. l. Already in First MnE (l) began to be dropped between (u) and a following consonant, as in *half* (hauf).

214. s, z. In Second and Third MnE the combinations (sj, zj) became (ʃ, ʒ), as in *nation* (neeʃən)=Early MnE (nææsjun)=ME *nācioun* (naasi-uun), *sure* (siur, sjuur, ʃuur), *usual* (iuziuæl, juuʒuæl), such words as *nature*, *verdure* passing through (næætjur) etc. into the present (neitʃə, vəədʒə).

215. w in First MnE was kept before (r), which it rounded, and was then dropped itself, as in *write* (rwəit), the (r) being afterwards unrounded.

216. k was kept initially before (n) in First MnE., as in *know* [compare *acknowledge*], the (n) being unvoiced, and the

(k) afterwards dropped, so that in Second MnE (kn*o*u, kn*ho*u) became (n*ho*o), this (n*h*) being afterwards levelled under the more frequent (n) in *no*, etc.

217. g was dropped before (n) in Second MnE as in *gnaw*.

218. In First MnE medial (ŋg) was shortened to (ŋ) in such words as *singer* (siŋər), *singing*=ME (siŋger), etc. by the analogy of final (ŋ) in *sing*; but (ŋg) was kept in the comparison of adjectives, as in *longer*, *longest*.

219. t, d. In Second MnE (t) preceded by the hisses (s, f) and followed by the vowel-like consonants (l, n, m) was regularly dropped, as in *thistle* (þisl), *fasten* (fæsn), *chestnut*, *Christmas*, *often*.

220. In First MnE (d) preceded by a vowel and followed by (r) was opened into (ð) in many words, such as *father*, *together*, *hither*=OE *fæder*, *tō·gædre*, *hider*. Conversely (ð) often became (d) in First MnE in combination with (r) and (l), as in *murther*, *murder*, *fiddle*=OE *morþor*, *fiþele*.

221. b. In First MnE final (b) was dropped after (m), as in *lamb*. Hence *b* was added in writing to words which in ME had only *m*, as in *limb*=ME *lim*.

ACCIDENCE.

NOUNS.

Old English.

Gender.

222. There are three genders of nouns in OE—**masculine, feminine,** and **neuter.** The genders of nouns are most clearly shown by the accompanying definite article 'the'—masculine *se,* feminine *sēo,* and neuter *þæt.* The gender is partly natural, partly grammatical: *se mann* 'human being,' *sēo dohtor* 'daughter,' *þæt ċild* 'child,' *þæt sċip* 'ship,' *þæt hūs* 'house,' *se stān* 'stone,' *sēo synn* 'sin,' *sēo caru* 'care.' Names of living beings sometimes have grammatical genders which contradict the natural gender, such as *þæt wīf* 'woman,' 'wife.' Compound nouns take the gender of their last element; hence *se wīfmann* 'woman.'

Strong and Weak.

223. Weak nouns are those which inflect mainly with *-n,* such as *se nama* 'name,' plural *naman, þæt ēage* 'eye,' *sēo ċiriċe* 'church,' plurals *ēagan, ċiriċan.* All others are **strong,** such as *stān,* plural *stānas.*

Inflections.

224. OE nouns have two numbers, **singular** and **plural,** and four cases, **nominative, accusative, genitive,** and **dative.** The accusative is often the same as the nominative

—always in the plural—so when the accusative is not given separately it is to be understood that it is the same as the nominative.

The following are examples of the most important inflections of nouns:—

225. Strong Masculine. | Strong Neuter.

Sing. Nom.	*stān*	*scip*	*hūs*
Dat.	*stāne*	*scipe*	*hūse*
Gen.	*stānes*	*scipes*	*hūses*
Plur. Nom.	*stānas*	*scipu*	*hūs*
Dat.	*stānum*	*scipum*	*hūsum*
Gen.	*stana*	*sciþa*	*hūsa*

226. Some neuters have plural *-ru*, such as *ċild*, plur. *ċildru*, *ċildrum*, *ċildra*. The neuter ending *-u* is dropped after a long syllable, as in *hūs* 'houses,' *folc* 'nations.'

227. Strong Feminine.

	Sing.	Plur.	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*caru* 'care'	*cara*	*synn* 'sin'	*synna*
Acc.	*care*	*cara*	*synne*	*synna*
Dat.	*care*	*carum*	*synne*	*synnum*
Gen.	*care*	*carena*	*synne*	*synna*

228. The *-u* is, as in the strong neuter nouns, kept only after a short syllable.

229.

		Weak Masc.	Weak Neut.	Weak Fem.
Sing.	Nom.	*nama*	*ēage*	*ċiriċe*
	Acc.	*naman*	*ēage*	*ċiriċan*
	Dat.	*naman*	*ēagan*	*ċiriċan*
	Gen.	*naman*	*ēagan*	*ċiriċan*
Plur.	Nom.	*naman*	*ēagan*	*ċiriċan*
	Dat.	*namum*	*ēagum*	*ċiriċum*
	Gen.	*namena*	*ēagena*	*ċiriċena*

230. The final *-u* of some nouns is a weakened *w*, which reappears before vowels: *þæt meolu* 'meal,' *sēo sceadu* 'shade,' 'shadow,' gen. *meolwes*, *sceadwe*. This final *-u* is dropped after a long vowel, as in *sēo mǣd* 'meadow,' gen. *mǣdwe*.

Middle English.

231. In Early Southern the old gender-distinctions in nouns were still partially kept up. By degrees, however, the inflections of the adjectives and the definite article were dropped; and the old genders were gradually forgotten, simply because there was nothing to mark them.

232. The first great change in the inflections was the levelling of weak vowels under *-e* (162). By this change the distinctions of gender in the OE weak forms *mōna*, *sunne*, *ēage* were levelled in the Early Southern forms *mōne*, *sunne*, *ēie*. The distinctions of case were almost entirely effaced by this change in such words as OE *caru*, acc., dat., and gen. sg. *care*, nom. plur. *cara*.

233. The only endings which could withstand this levelling were the gen. sing. *-es*, the nom. plur. *-as*, which both became *-es* in ME, as in *stǭnes* = OE *stānes*, *stānas*, the weak *-an*, which became *-en*, the gen. plur. *-ena*, which became *-ene*. The dat. plur. *-um* became *-em*; but as this was the only case ending in *m*, the consonant was levelled under the more frequent *n*, so that ME *-en* represented OE *-um* as well as *-an*.

234. The general result of these changes was not only to obscure the distinctions of the cases, but also in some classes of nouns to obscure the distinction between singular and plural. The confusion was most marked in the feminine nouns, where the changes we have been considering gave the

following as the endings corresponding to those of the OE nouns *caru*, *synn*, *sunne* respectively:—

Sing. Nom.	*-e*	*-**	*-e*
Acc.	*-e*	*-e*	*-en**
Dat.	*-e*	*-e*	*-en**
Gen.	*-e*	*-e*	*-en**
Plur. Nom.	*-e**	*-e**	*-en*
Dat.	*-en*	*-en*	*-en*
Gen.	*-ene*	*-e*	*-ene*

235. It is evident that the forms marked * in the above table are in the minority, while at the same time most of them obscure the distinction between singular and plural. They were accordingly got rid of by the extension of those forms which were in the majority and more distinctive. The final result was that all feminine nouns were uniformly declined as follows, the gen. plur. being often levelled under the other plur. cases:—

	Sing.	Plur.
Nom.	*sünne*	*sünnen*
Acc.	*sünne*	*sünnen*
Dat.	*sünne*	*sünnen*
Gen.	*sünne*	*sünnen(e)*

236. Weak masculines and neuters were declined in the same way—sing. *name, ēie*, plur. *namen, ēien*. The only distinction between masculine and neuter weak nouns—namely in the acc. sing. (OE *naman, ēage*) was thus lost.

237. *-e*=the OE neuter plur. ending *-u* was made into *-en* for the sake of distinctness, as in *dēoflen, children*=OE *dēoflu, ċildru*, sing. *dēovel, chīld*. In many of these words *-e*=OE *-u* was extended to the singular, as in *dale* 'valley,' *bede* 'prayer,'=OE *dæl, ġebed*, plur. *dalu, ġebedu*. These OE plurals became *dalen, beden* in ME.

238. The remaining masculine and neuter nouns kept their original strong forms. But the dat. sing. *-e*, the dat. plur. *-en*, and the gen. plur. *-e* were gradually supplanted by the nominative, so as to avoid confusion with the weak endings. In the neuter plur. the OE undeclined forms were still kept—*hūs*, *wōrd*—but the strong masc. ending was often extended to the neuters, so as to distinguish the two numbers —*hūses*, *wōrdes*. Strong masculine and neuter nouns were, then, inflected thus:—

239.

	Sing.		Plur.	
Nom.	*stǭn*	*wōrd*	*stǭnes*	*wōrd, wōrdes*
Dat.	*stǭn(e)*	*wōrd(e)*	*stǭnes*	*wōrd, wōrdes*
Gen.	*stǭnes*	*wōrdes*	*stǭne, stǭnes*	*wōrde, wōrdes*

240. In Early Midland and Northern the distinctions of grammatical gender were entirely lost during the transition from OE, the distinction between strong and weak forms being also done away with, except in a few isolated forms. The natural consequence was that the *-es* of the genitive was extended to weak nouns and to all feminine nouns, the plur. *-es* being then extended in the same way, first to strong neuters, then to weak nouns and feminine nouns generally. The final result was that the only regular inflections left were gen. sing. *-es*, plur. nom. and gen. *-es*, the distinction between nom. and gen. plur. being kept up only in irregular plurals such as *men*, gen. *mennes*.

241. Standard ME follows the Early Midland dialect in its noun-inflections: it has only one case, the genitive; the original nominative, accusative, and dative being now merged in one 'common case':—

Sing.	Common	*wōrd,*	*sinne*	*man*
	Gen.	*wōrdes,*	*sinnes*	*mannes*
Plur.	Common	*wōrdes,*	*sinnes*	*men*
	Gen.	*wōrdés,*	*sinnes*	*mennes*

Modern English.

242. By the beginning of the MnE period the *s* of inflectional *-es* had been voiced (208), (s) being kept only in monosyllables such as *geese, pence* (ME *penies, pens*). In Early MnE the *e* was kept after a hiss-consonant for the sake of distinctness, as in *horses* (horsez), and was dropped everywhere else, the (z) being necessarily unvoiced after voiceless consonants, as in *beasts* (beests) from *beastes* (beestez), while it was of course preserved after vowels and voiced consonants, as in *days, heads* (heedz). Hence the following are the main types of noun-inflection in the present English :—

Sing. Common	hɔs	dog	kæt	waif	guws	mæn
Gen.	hɔsiz	dogz	kæts	waifs	guwsiz	mænz
Plur. Common	hɔsiz	dogz	kæts	waivz	gijs	men
Gen.	hɔsiz	dogz	kæts	waivz	gijsiz	menz

243. In ME the genitive ending was often dropped after hiss-consonants in foreign words, as it still is in such genitives as *Æneas'*, and in *for conscience sake*, etc.

244. The ME alternation of breath and voice consonants in *wīf*, gen. sing. and common plur. *wīves*, is still kept up in *path* (paaþ, paaðz), *house, thief, wolf* and others ending in *th* and *f* preceded by a long syllable; but only in the plur., the gen. sing. having been formed afresh from the common case.

245. The following are old mutation-plurals: *man, men* (OE *mann, męnn*); *woman, women* (*wīfmann, wīfmęnn*); *foot, feet* (*fōt, fēt*); *goose, geese* (*gōs, gēs*); *tooth, teeth* (*tōþ, tēþ*); *mouse, mice* (*mūs, mȳs*).

246. Of the *n*-plurals, *ox, oxen* is OE, which has *se oxa*,

plur. *oxan*, while *child*, *children* is a ME form of OE *ċildru*. *brother*, *brethren* is in OE *brōþor*, *brōþru*, which latter became in ME *brēþre*(*n*).

247. The unchanged plurals *deer* and *sheep* are the OE neuters *dēor*, *scēap* (*scēþ*), which were, of course, unchanged in the plur. So also the plurals *swine*, and *pound* in *ten-pound note* are old neuters. As these words mostly express collectiveness and measure, other nouns with inflected plurals have been made invariable by the analogy of *swine* and *pound* etc. when used in similar meanings, as in *to catch fish* (OE *fiscas*), *to weigh ten stone*, *three-foot rule*.

248. Many words of foreign origin—especially Latin and Greek—keep their original plurals, such as *fungus*, *fungi*; *index*, *indices* (also *indexes*); *phenomenon*, *phenomena*.

ADJECTIVES.

Inflections.

249. In OE adjectives are inflected similarly to nouns, with which they agree in gender, number, and case. They also have a strong and a weak form, the latter being used after the definite article and other defining words, as in *se hālga mann* 'the holy man,' *þā gōdan męnn* 'the good men,' compared with *hāliġ mann* 'a holy man,' *gōde męnn* 'good men,' where the adjectives are strong.

250. In ME the adjective-inflections were soon dropped, till nothing was left but *-e*, which denoted the weak form and the plural: —

Strong Sing.	(*a*) *gōd man*	Weak Sing.	*þe gōde man*
Plur.	*gōde men*	Plur.	*þe gōde men*

251. In MnE the loss of final *-e* made the adjectives invariable, except that Early MnE kept up the distinction between sing. *enough* and plural *enow*=ME *inōh*, *enough* plur. *inōwe*, *enowe*.

Comparison.

252. In OE the comparative is formed by adding *-ra* (with weak inflection), as in *lēofra* 'dearer,' the corresponding adverbs ending in *-or*: *lēofor*. The superlative ends in *-ost*, as in *lēofost*, which is also the adverb. The comparison of some adjectives is accompanied by mutation, the superlative ending in *-est*, as in *eald* 'old,' *ieldra*, *ieldest*.

253. In ME the endings are *-ere* [adverb *-er*], *-est*; and *-ere* was soon shortened to *-er*, so that the distinction between adjective and adverb was lost, *harder* representing OE *heardor* as well as *heardra*.

254. In MnE we have, besides the endings *-er*, *-est*, a periphrastic comparison which consists in prefixing the adverbs *more*, *most*, being applied chiefly to longer adjectives, as in *beautiful*, *more beautiful*, *most beautiful*.

255. Early MnE has double comparisons, such as *more braver*, *most unkindest*.

256. Some old superlatives in OE end in *-ma*, which was generally made in *-mest* by the influence of the more usual ending, as in *for-ma* 'first'—whose positive is represented by the adverb *fore* 'before'—*fyrmest* 'first.' In ME *-mest* was confused with *mǭst* 'most,' and a variety of new superlatives have been formed on the analogy of *foremost*, such as *aftermost*, *uppermost*, and even *topmost*.

257. The following are the irregular comparisons of MnE :—

old,	*elder*	*eldest*
	older	*oldest*

OE Anglian *āld, ęldra, ęldest.*

late	*latter*	*last*
	later	*latest*

OE *læt* [adv. *late*] 'slow,' *lætra* [adv. *lator*], *latost.*

out	*utter*	*ut(ter)most*
	outer	*out(er)most*

OE *ūt* adv. 'outside,' *ȳterra, ūterra, ȳtemest, ūtemest.*

far	*further*	*furthest*
	farther	*farthest*

OE *feorr, fierra, fierrest*; *fore* adv., *furþra,* superl. *fyr(e)st, forma, fyrmest. forma* was made into a new compar. *former* in ME.

nigh	*near*	*next*
	nearer	*nearest*

OE *nēah* (*nēh*), *nēarra* [adv. *nēar*], *nīehst* (*nēxt*). In ME the compar. *nēar* was made into a positive by the analogy of *þēr* 'there,' etc.

good (*well*), *better*, *best* is made up of three distinct words; the OE forms are *gōd* [adv. *wel*], *bętera* [adv. *bęt*], *bętst.*

evil	*worse*	*worst*
bad		

OE *yfel* (Kentish *efel*), *wyrsa, wyr(re)st.*

little	*less*	*least*
	lesser	

OE *lȳtel, lāssa* [adv. *lās*], *lāst.*

much	*more*	*most*
many		

OE *micel* (later *myċel*), *māra* [adv. *mā*], *māst.* The vowel of the compar. was extended to the superl. in ME.

PRONOUNS.

258. Some of the OE pronouns have inflections of their own, such as the *t* of the neut. sing., still preserved in *it*, *what*, but most of them are inflected like strong adjectives, whether they are used as adjectives or as nouns. Thus the adjective-pronoun *sum* in *sum mann* 'a certain man' and the noun-pronoun *sum* 'a certain one' both have plur. *sume*, as in *sume męnn cwĉdon* (said), *sume cwĉdon*. These plurals in *-e* were kept in ME, but their *-e* was dropped in MnE, so that these pronouns became invariable, as in *some think differently*, *beloved by all*. Some of them still keep the old genitive sing. ending, thus *other* = OE *ōþer* has gen. *other's* = OE *ōþres*. On the analogy of this gen. the Early MnE plur. *other* has been made into *others*.

Personal.

259. The following are the inflections of the OE personal pronouns:—

Sing. Nom.	*iċ*	*þū*	*hē*	*hit*	*hēo*
Acc.	*meċ*, *mē*	*þeċ*, *þē*	*hine*	*hit*	*hīe*
Dat.	*mē*	*þē*	*him*	*him*	*hire*
Plur. Nom.	*wē*	*ġē*		*hīe*	
Acc.	*ūsiċ*, *ūs*	*ēowiċ*, *ēow*		*hīe*	
Dat.	*ūs*	*ēow*		*him*, *heom*	

Sing. Nom.	*hwā*	*hwæt*	
Acc.	*hwone*	*hwæt*	
Dat.	*hwēm*, *hwām*		

260. The accusatives *mē*, *þē*, *ūs*, *ēow* are really datives. In ME the datives *him*, *hire*, *heom*, *hwām* supplanted the

original accusatives in the same way, the neut. accusatives *hit, hwæt* being, on the other hand, extended to the dative. The result is that these pronouns have now only two cases —nominative and objective, the latter including the OE acc. and dat.

261. In OE the strong demonstrative *sē* 'that one' was often used in the sense of 'he,' and in ME its feminine *sēo* and plur. *þā* gradually supplanted the less distinct *hēo* and *hīe*. In the Northern dialect *þā* was made into *þei* by the influence of Scandinavian *þei-r* 'they,' and this form gradually spread south together with its objective case *þeim*, although *hem* = OE *heom* was kept, as it still is in the form of *'em*.

262. The following are the standard ME forms:—

Sing. Nom.	*ī, ich*	*þow*	*whō*	*what*
Obj.	*mē*	*þē*	*whōm*	*what*
Plur. Nom.	*wē*	*yē*		
Obj.	*us*	*yow*		
Sing. Nom.	*hē*	*hit, it*	*shē*	
Obj.	*him*	*hit, it*	*hire, hir, her*	
Plur. Nom.		*þei*		
Obj.		*hem, þeim*		

263. In MnE the use of the ceremonious *ye, you*—which began in ME—was more and more extended till at last *thou, thee* were completely disused in the spoken language.

264. As there was no distinctive inflection for the objective case, it soon began to be confused with the nom., so that *you* was regarded as a nom., and the second person pronoun became invariable, while *who*, on the other hand, often supplanted *whom*. There is now a tendency to make *me, him*, etc. absolute nominatives (*it is me*) as opposed to the

conjoint *I*, *he* (*I am*). The following are the MnE forms:—

Sing. Nom.	*I*	*thou, you*	*who*	*what*
Obj.	*me*	*thee, you*	*whom*	*what*
Plur. Nom.	*we*	*ye, you*		
Obj.	*us*	*ye, you*		
Sing. Nom.	*he*	*it*	*she*	
Obj.	*him*	*it*	*her*	
Plur. Nom.		*they*		
Obj.		*them* (*'em*)		

Possessive.

265. The OE possessive pronouns are the genitives of the corresponding personal pronouns: *mīn* 'my,' *ūre* 'our,' *þīn* 'thy,' *ēower* 'your,' *his* 'his, its,' *hire* 'her,' *hira*, *heora* 'their.' The possessives of the third person—*his*, *hire*, *hira*—together with *hwæs* 'whose,' are indeclinable, those of the first and second person—*mīn*, *þīn*, *ūre*, *ēower*—being declined like strong adjectives: *mid his frēondum* 'with his friends,' *mid mīnum frēondum*.

266. In ME *mīn* and *þīn* dropped their *n* before a consonant, keeping it before a vowel or *h* + vowel, the *n* being always kept when the possessive was used absolutely: *mī fader*, *þīn herte*, *hit is mīn*. The others (except, of course, *his*) took *s* when absolute: *tō mīn hous or tō youres*. By degrees the Northern possessive *þeire* = Southern *here* made its way in the South.

267. In Early MnE *his* was still the possessive of *it* as well as *he*, *its* being a later formation. The full *mine* (*thine*) is now used only as an absolute form, except in the higher

language which still uses *mine eyes* etc. The following are the MnE forms :—

Conjoint : *my, mine; thy, thine; his; its; her; our; your; their; whose.*

Absolute : *mine; thine; his; its; hers; ours; yours; theirs; whose.*

Self.

268. In OE *self* is added to nouns and adjectives to make them emphatic, being inflected like a strong or weak adjective: *God self, iċ selfa.* In OE the personal pronouns are often used reflexively, a reflexive pronoun in the dative being often used pleonastically, as in *hē ondrēd him þone mann* 'he feared (for-himself) the man,' where, of course, *him* could be made emphatic by adding *self—him selfum.* In ME these combinations became general, and at last even the OE *God self* was made into *God him-self*; and the meaning of the pronouns was so completely forgotten that in the combinations *ich mē self* etc. they were made into possessives—*ich mī-self—self* being regarded as a noun, so that in MnE it developed a plural *selves*, like *shelves*, and was used as a detached noun, as in *forgetful of self.* The following are the forms of the spoken language :—

Sing. *myself*; *yourself*; *himself, itself, herself.*
Plur. *ourselves*; *yourselves*; *themselves.*

Demonstrative.

269. The OE *se* (*sē*), *þæt, sēo,* plur. *þā* was used both in the sense of 'the' and of 'that one.' So also *þes* (*þēs*), *þis, þēos,* plur. *þās* was used both as an adjective—'this'—and as a noun 'this one.'

270. In ME the *s* of OE *se, sēo* was made into *þ* by the influence of the other forms. The resulting *þe, þat, þeo,* plur. *þē,* was at first used both as a demonstrative and as the definite article. But by degrees *þat* and *þē* were restricted to the demonstrative meaning, *þe* being also restricted to the function of a definite article, which soon became invariable. The neuter *þat* was then extended to the masc. and fem., so that *þat man, þat hūs* became distinct in meaning from *þe man, þe hūs.* The neut. *þis* was extended in the same way: *þis man* = OE *þes man.* *þē* was now regarded as the plur. of *þat,* and *þēs* = OE *þās* 'these' was confused with it, so that the latter supplanted *þē* and became itself the plur. of *þat,* a new plur. *þise, þese* being formed from *þis.* Hence the MnE forms—

Sing.	*that*	*this*
Plur.	*those*	*these*

271. There was another OE demonstrative *ġeon,* whence the North-English *yon,* which has been confused with the adverb *yond*(*er*), so that *yonder* is used as a pronoun.

one, a; none, no.

272. In OE the numeral *ān* 'one,' whence *nān* 'none' = *ne ān* 'not one,' was inflected like a strong adjective, and was often used almost as an indefinite article, into which it fully developed in ME. When used in this way in ME it was shortened to *an,* and became distinct from *ǭn* 'one,' and *an, ǭn, nǭn* all dropped their *n* before consonants, in the same way as *mīn, þīn*: *ǭ man* 'one man,' *nǭn ōþer.* In MnE we do not shorten *one,* while, on the other hand, the earlier *none other* etc. is now made into *no other.*

Interrogative and Relative.

273. The OE interrogative pronouns are *hwā*, *hwæt* (259), *hwilċ* 'which (of more than two),' *hwæþer* 'which of two.' The first two were used only as nouns, but in ME *what* was used as an adjective in all three genders, like *þat*: *what man?* The last now survives only as an adverb.

274. These pronouns were not used as relatives in OE, although they were frequent in conjunctive (indirect interrogation) clauses, as in *hē hordaþ, and nāt hwām* 'he hoards, and knows not for whom.' Through such constructions *who* and *which* came to be used as full relatives in ME.

Indefinite.

275. In OE *swā . . swā* 'as . . as' was combined with interrogative pronouns to make them indefinite. Thus in OE we have *swā-hwā-swā, swā-hwæt-swā*, which appear in ME as *whō-sǭ, what-sǭ*. Already in OE we find *æfre* 'ever' used to express indefiniteness, and in ME this usage was much extended, whence the MnE *whosoever* etc., and, with dropping of the *so*, *whoever*, *whichever* etc.

276. In OE indefiniteness was expressed by prefixing *ā, ō* 'always,' which was also prefixed to the noun *wiht* 'creature, thing,' the resulting *āwiht, ōwiht* being soon contracted to *aht, oht*, negative *n-aht, noht*, whence the MnE *aught, naught* (whence, again, *naughty*), *nought*, of which *not* is a ME weakening.

277. *some* = OE *sum*, *any* = OE *ǣniġ* (from *ān* 'one'), ME *ẹ̄ni, eni, ani* (by the influence of *an*) are used chiefly as adjectives, their noun-forms being represented, as in the case of other pronouns, by compounds with *one, body, thing: someone, somebody, anything.*

278. *other* = OE *ōþer*. *one another, each other* are now inseparable compounds, but their elements were originally separate words; we still find in Early MnE *each* (nom.) *other* (acc.) *doth assail.*

Quantitative.

279. **both** = ME *bōþe*, OE **bā-þā* 'both those,' *bā* being the neut. and fem. of *bēġen* 'both.' **each** = OE *ǣlċ* from **ā-ġelīc* 'ever each.'

every = ME *ęverі*, earlier *ęvrich* from OE **ǣfre ǣlċ*. **either** = OE *ǣġ(hwæ)þer* from **ā-gehwæþer* 'ever which of two.' *n-either* is a ME formation. **several** is an Old French word; **few** = OE *fēawe*; **many** = OE *manіġ*, *mǣnіġ* (by influence of *ǣnіġ*), ME *mani*, *meni.*

NUMERALS.

280. The cardinal numerals 1–12 are expressed by isolated words in OE:—

ān (272). 2 **twēgen** masc., **twā** fem. and neut., which in ME, as also in the MnE *twain, two*, were used indiscriminately for all genders. 3 **þrēo.** 4 **fēower.** 5 **fīf**; the numerals above *three* were not inflected except when used absolutely, when they took *-e*, as in *heora wǽron fīfe* 'there were five of them,' both forms being kept in ME till the absolute *fīve* supplanted the conjoint *fīf* entirely. 6 **siex** (*sex*). 7 **seofon.** 8 **eahta** (*æhta*). 9 **nigon(e)**, ME *nīn*, *nīne.* 10 **tīen** (*tēn*). 11 **ęndleofan.** 12 **twęlf(e)**, ME *twelf, twelve.* The numerals above *three* govern their nouns in the genitive: *fīf manna.*

281. The teen-numerals are compounds with *-tīene* (*-tēne*): **þrītīene, fēowertīene, fīftīene, siextīene, seofontīene, eahtatīene** (*æhtatēne*), **nigontīene.**

282. The ty-numerals 20–90 are compounded with *-tiġ* 'lot of ten,' the last three also prefixing *hund-*: **twentiġ** (from **twēgen-tiġ*; **þrītiġ**; **fēowertiġ**; **fīftiġ**; **siextiġ**; **hundseofontiġ**; **hundeahtatiġ** (*hundæhtatiġ*); **hundnigontiġ**. These are generally used as nouns governing the genitive, but also as adjectives.

283. The high numerals **hund(red)** and **þūsend** are neut. nouns: *twā hund wintra* 'two hundred winters (years).'

284. The MnE **million** is the French form of Late Latin *mīlliō* (from *mīlle* 'thousand').

285. In MnE all the numerals are treated like adjectives: *ten men, a-hundred men.* But may also be used as nouns: *ten of us, thousands of people.*

286. Of the ordinal numbers **first** = OE *fyrest* (257), **second** = Latin *secundus* through French *second.* The others were formed from the cardinals in OE by adding *-þa* (*-da, -ta*), preceding *n* being dropped: **þridda**; **fēo(we)rþa**; **fīfta**; **siexta**; **seofoþa**; **eahtoþa** (*æhtoþa*); **nigoþa**; **tēoþa**, ME *tenþe* being a new formation; **ęndleofta**, **twęlfta.**

287. The OE teen-ordinals end in *-tēoþa,* which in ME was refashioned into *-tēnþe,* whence MnE *thirteenth* etc. The ty-ordinals *twentieth* etc. are in like manner formed direct from the cardinals, as also *hundredth* etc.

VERBS.

288. All OE verbs are either **strong** or **weak.** Strong verbs form their preterites with vowel-change and their preterite participles by adding *-en,* while weak verbs form

them with the help of *d* or *t*, all verbs generally prefixing *ġe-* in the pret. partic., unless there is already some other prefix. Thus strong *bindan* 'to bind,' *band* '(he) bound,' *ġebunden*; weak *hīeran* 'hear,' *hīerde, ġehiered.* The following are the full endings of these two verbs :—

Indicative: Pres. Sing.	1	*binde*	*hīere*
	2	*bindest, bintst*	*hīer(e)st*
	3	*bindeþ, bint*	*hīer(e)þ*
Plur.		*bindaþ*	*hīeraþ*
Pret. Sing.	1	*band*	*hīerde*
	2	*bunde*	*hīerdest*
	3	*band*	*hīerde*
Plur.		*bundon*	*hīerdon*
Subjunctive: Pres. Sing.		*binde*	*hīere*
Plur.		*binden*	*hīeren*
Pret. Sing.		*bunde*	*hīerde*
Plur.		*bunden*	*hīerden*
Imperative: Sing.		*bind*	*hīer*
Plur.		*bindaþ*	*hīeraþ*
Infinitive		*bindan*	*hīeran*
Gerund		*(tō)bindenne*	*hīerenne*
Participle: Pres.		*bindende*	*hīerende*
Pret.		*ġebunden*	*ġehīered*

289. The contracted *hīerst*, *bint*, etc. are West-Saxon.

290. Verbs ending in vowels contract: *gā-n* 'to go,' pres. *iċ gā, wē gāþ*, etc.

291. In ME the verb-endings—besides the inevitable results of the levelling of weak vowels under *e* and the frequent dropping of final *n*—underwent the following changes:—

292. The gerund passed through *-ene* into *-e(n)*, and was thus levelled under the infinitive: *tō bīnde(n)*.

293. *ġe-* became *i-* and was gradually dropped, though still kept in the archaic *iclept* = OE *ġecleopod* 'called.'

294. In Southern, *-ende* passed through *-inde* into *-inge* by the influence of the verbal nouns such as *lerning(e)* = OE *leornung*, *leorning* from *leornian* 'learn.' In Northern it became *-and(e)* through Scandinavian influence.

295. In Northern *-eþ*, *-(i)aþ* became *-(e)s*, the plural ending being dropped entirely in most cases; the *-es* of the 3rd sing. afterwards passed into MnE. In Midland the plur. pres. indic. took the ME ending of the pret. and subj. plur., namely *-en*:—

		Southern.	Midland.	Northern.
Indic. Pres. Sing.	1	*bīnde*	*bīnde*	*bīnd*
	2	*bīndest, bintst*	*bīndest*	*bīndes*
	3	*bīndeþ, bint*	*bīndeþ*	*bīndes*
Plur.		*bīndeþ*	*bīnden*	*bīnd(es)*
Imper. Sing.		*bīnd*	*bīnd*	*bīnd*
Plur.		*bīndeþ*	*bīndeþ*	*bīnd(es)*
Partic. Pres.		*bīndinde*	*bīndende*	*bīndand*

296. Other changes were the result of analogy and the striving to get rid of irregularities, as when the *-st* of *hīerdest* was extended to the subjunctive, so that the two moods were completely levelled in the preterite.

The following are the inflections of Standard ME, which adopted the Midland form of the pres. plur.:—

Pres. Indic. Sing.	1	*bīnde*	*hēre*
	2	*bīndest*	*hēr(e)st*
	3	*bīndeþ, bint*	*hēr(e)þ*
Plur.		*bīnde(n)*	*hēre(n)*
Pres. Subj. Sing.		*bīnde*	*hēre*
Plur.		*bīnde(n)*	*hēre(n)*

Pret. Indic. Sing.	1	*bǭnd*	*herde*
	2	*bounde, bǭnd*	*herdest*
	3	*bǭnd*	*herde*
Plur.		*bounde(n), bǭnd*	*herde(n)*
Pret. Subj. Sing.	1	*bounde*	*herde*
	2	*bounde*	*herde(st)*
	3	*bounde*	*here*
Plur.		*bounde(n)*	*herde(n)*
Imper. Sing.		*bīnd*	*hēr(e)*
Plur.		*bīnde(þ), bīnd*	*hēre(þ), hēr*
Infin.		*bīnde(n)*	*hēre(n)*
Gerund		*bīnden(e), bīnde*	*hēren(e), hēre*
Partic. Pres.		*bīndinge*	*hēringe*
Pret.		*(i)bounde(n)*	*(i)herd*

297. In MnE the dropping of final *e* greatly simplified the verb-inflections. The weak vowel of the endings *-est*, *-es*, *-eth*, *-ed* was often dropped also, the treatment of *-es* being the same as in the noun-inflection.

298. In MnE a **gerund** was developed out of the old *-ung* nouns, whose number was limited in OE. In ME their number increased, and when the pres. partic. in *-inge* was fully established, and became indistinguishable in form from the *-ing* nouns, these could be formed at pleasure from any verb; or, in other words, every pres. partic. could be used as a verb-noun. At first—in Early MnE as well as ME—these words were used entirely as nouns—taking the article *the* before them and the preposition *of* after them, etc.—as in *he thanked him for the saving of his life*, where *saving* is used exactly like the abstract noun *preservation*; but by degrees they were treated like infinitives, the article being dropped and the following noun joined on to them as to the corresponding finite verb; so that the above sentence was

shortened to *he thanked him for saving his life*, where *saving* is a true gerund.

Weak Verbs.

299. The OE weak verbs fall under two main groups, according as their root-vowel is mutated or not. The former comprises two classes, the **hear**-class (*hīeran* 'hear,' *fyllan* 'fill') with long root-syllable and dropping of the Germanic *i* or *j* which caused the mutation, and the **wean**-class (*węnian* 'accustom') with a short root-vowel and preservation of the Germanic *i*. In the unmutated or **love**-class (*lufian*) the *i* is a weakening of *a* or *o* and so does not cause mutation.

300. In such verbs as *fyllan* the *ll* belongs to the root [cp. *full* 'full']. But most of the double consonants in verbs of the hear-class arise from a single consonant +*j*, as in *sęttan* 'set,' *bycgan* 'buy' from Germanic *satjan*, *bugjan*, and in these verbs the single consonant re-appears in certain forms:—

Indic. Pres. Sing. 1	*fylle*	*sętte*	*bycge*
3	*fylleþ*	*sęteþ*	*byġeþ*
Plur.	*fyllaþ*	*sęttaþ*	*bycgaþ*
Imper. Sing.	*fyll*	*sęte*	*byġe*
Infin.	*fyllan*	*sęttan*	*bycgan*
Partic. Pret.	*ġefylled*	*ġesęted*	[*ġeboht*]

West-Saxon has the contracted forms *fylþ*, *sętt*, *ġesętt*, etc.

301. The preterites and pret. participles of hear-verbs are liable to contraction, and *d* is made into *t* after breath-consonants, *ct* becoming *ht*: *węndan* 'turn,' pret. *węnde*, pret. partic. *ġewęnd*(*ed*), *ġemētan* 'find,' *ġemētte*, *ġemētt*, *tācan* 'show,' *tāhte*.

302. There is a subdivision of this class called the **seek**-class, consisting of verbs which un-mutate their vowel in the pret. and pret. partic., those in *nc*, *ng* dropping the nasal and modifying the preceding vowel in various ways:—

sęcgan 'say,' *sęgeþ, sæġde, ġesæġd*; *sēċan* 'seek,' *sōhte, sohte*; *bycgan, bohte*; *bringan* 'bring,' *brohte*; *þęnċan* 'think,' *þohte*; *þynċan* 'seem,' *þuhte*.

303. The following are the most marked inflections of the other two main classes:—

Indic. Pres. Sing.	1	*węniġe*	*lufiġe*
	3	*węneþ*	*lufaþ*
Plur.		*węniaþ*	*lufiaþ*
Pret.		*węnede*	*lufode*
Imper. Sing.		*węne*	*lufa*
Infin.		*węnian*	*lufian*
Partic. Pret.		*ġewęned*	*ġelufod*

Middle English.

304. The ME vowel-changes levelled the few wean-verbs under the more numerous love-class, which soon began to drop their *i* in imitation of the hear-class, which, on its side, took its imper. sing. from the other class. The following are the main inflections of the two classes in Standard ME:—

Indic. Pres. Sing.	1	*hēre*	*lŏve*
	3	*hēr(e)þ*	*lŏveþ*
Plur.		*hēre(n)*	*lŏve(n)*
Pret.		*herde*	*lŏved(e)*
Imper. Sing.		*hēr(e)*	*lŏve*
Infin.		*hēre(n)*	*lŏve(n)*
Partic. Pret.		*(i)herd*	*(i)lŏv(e)d*

305. There was regular vowel-shortening in all such preterites and pret. participles as *herde, herd, mette*, the shortened *ę̄* becoming *a* in Southern, as in *ladde* (*ledde*), *ta(u)ght*e from *lę̄den, tę̄chen*.

306. Such preterites as *bilde, wende* from *bilden, wenden* were in Late ME made into *bilte, wente*, pret. partic. *(i)went*,

to distinguish them from the present *ich wende* etc., the change being also extended to such verbs as *fēlen* 'feel,' *felte*, *lǣven*, *lefte*, *lafte*.

Modern English.

307. In MnE the vowel of *-ed* was dropped in speech except after *t* and *d* (*hated*, *wounded*), although the full forms *blessed* etc. are still preserved in the higher language. Hence the inflectional distinction between the two classes is practically done away with.

Strong Verbs.

308. In these the plur. of the pret. indic. often has a vowel different from that of the sing. (*he band*, *hīe bundon*); and the 2nd sing. pret. indic. and the whole pret. subj. always have this same vowel: *þū bunde*, *ġif ic bunde*.

309. Some strong verbs have weak inflections everywhere except in their pret. and pret. partic. Thus *swǣrian* 'swear,' *sittan* 'sit' are inflected like *wǣnian* and *sǣttan* in such forms as the pres. indic. *ic swǣrige*, *hē siteþ*, imper. sing. *swǣre*. All these verbs have, if possible, mutated vowels like the hear- and wean-classes, their Germanic forms being the same (*swarjan*, *sitjan*).

310. The vowel-changes in the strong verbs are mostly due to gradation (152), which is sometimes accompanied by consonant-change (150), except in the first class, where the preterites are contracted reduplications, of which a trace is still preserved in the pret. *he-ht* (Germanic *hehait*) from *hātan* 'command, name.'

311. The following are examples of the different classes in the infin., 3rd sing. pres. indic. (occasionally), pret. sing. and plur., pret. partic. Observe that the infin. of III contains

e (*i*, *ie*, *eo*) followed by two consonants, the first of which is generally vowellike, while those of IV and V have the same vowels followed in IV by a single vowellike consonant, in V by a stop or hiss.

312. I. **Reduplicative** or **fall**-class.

fealłan (*fallan*) 'fall'	*fēoll*	*fēollon*	*fealłen* (*fallen*)
healdan (*hāldan*) 'hold'	*hēold*	*hēoldon*	*healden* (*hālden*)
cnāwan 'know'	*cnēow*	*cnēowon*	*cnāwen*
grōwan 'grow'	*grēow*	*grēowon*	*grōwen*
bēatan 'beat'	*bēot*	*bēoton*	*bēaten*
hātan 'command'	*hē(h)t*	*hē(h)ton*	*hāten*
lȃtan 'let'	*lēt*	*lēton*	*lȃten*

313. II. **Shake**-class.

faran 'go'	*fōr*	*fōron*	*faren*
sċacan 'shake'	*sċōc*	*sċōcon*	*sċacen*
hębban, *hęfeþ* (151) 'raise'	*hōf*	*hōfon*	*hafen*, *hæfen*

314. III. **Bind**-class.

bindan 'bind'	*band*, *bǫnd*	*bundon*	*bunden*
ġieldan (*ġeldan*) 'pay'	*ġeald* (*gāld*)	*guldon*	*golden*
helpan 'help'	*healp* (*hālp*)	*hulpon*	*holpen*
berstan (149) 'burst'	*bærst*	*burston*	*borsten*
feohtan (*fehtan*) 'fight'	*feaht* (*fæht*)	*fuhton*	*fohten*

315. IV. **Bear**-class.

beran 'carry'	*bær*	*bȃron*	*boren*
brecan 'break'	*bræc*	*brȃcon*	*brocen*
sċieran (*sċeran*) 'cut'	*sċēar* (*sċær*)	*sċēaron* (*sċēron*)	*sċoren*
niman 'take'	*nam*, *nōm*	*nōmon*, *nāmon*	*numen*

316. V. **Give**-class.

sprecan 'speak'	*spræc*	*sprȃcon*	*sprecen*
ġiefan (*ġefan*) 'give'	*ġeaf* (*ġæf*)	*ġēafon* (*ġēfon*)	*ġiefen* (*ġefen*)

sittan, siteþ 'sit'	*sæt*	*sæ̂ton*	*seten*
licgan, liġeþ 'lie'	*læġ*	*lāgon, læ̂gon*	*leġen*

317. VI. **Shine**-class.

drīfan 'drive'	*drāf*	*drifon*	*drifen*
sċīnan 'shine'	*sċān*	*sċinon*	*sċinen*
wrītan 'write'	*wrāt*	*writon*	*writen*

318. VII. **Choose**-class.

bēodan 'command'	*bēad*	*budon*	*boden*
ċēosan 'choose'	*ċēas*	*curon*	*coren*
frēosan 'freeze'	*frēas*	*fruron*	*froren*
būgan 'bend'	*bēag, bēah*	*bugon*	*bogen*

Middle English.

319. In ME there was a tendency to get rid of consonant-change—especially when initial—as when OE *ġecoren* 'chosen' was made into *ichosen* (instead of **icoren*) by the influence of the *ċ* and *s* of the infin. *ċēosan*.

320. Unnecessary vowel-changes were also got rid of. Thus such pret. vowels as that of *bǭnd* were gradually extended throughout the pret.: *þou bǭnd, wē bǭnd*. But sometimes the vowel of the pret. plur. was extended to the sing., as in *hē slow* 'slew'=earlier ME *slōh* from OE *slōg*, by the influence of the plur. *slowen, slōwen*.

321. Then the pret. partic. vowels began to influence those of the pret. plur., so that at last the old pret. plur. vowels which differed from those of the sing. were generally preserved only when they were the same as those of the pret. partic., as in *bounden*; otherwise they took the latter's vowel, as in *þei holpen*=OE *hulpon*.

322. The following examples will show the regular development of the different classes of strong verbs in Late ME.

Note that the preterites of II split up into two groups, one with the old (oo), the other with (uu) [174].

323. I. **Fall**-class.

fallen	*fell*	*fellen*	*(i)fallen*
hǭlden	*hēld*	*hēlden*	*hǭlden*
grōwen	*grēw*	*grēwen*	*grōwen*
knǭwen	*knēw*	*knēwen*	*knǭwen*

324. II. **Shake**-class.

shāken	*shōk*	*shōken*	*shāken*
wāken	*wōk*	*wōken*	*wāken*
laughen	*laugh, low*	*lowen*	*laughen*
drawen	*drough, drow*	*drowen*	*drawen*

325. III. **Bind**-class.

bīnden	*bǭnd*	*bounden*	*bounden*
singen	*sǭng*	*sŏngen*	*sŏngen*
drinken	*drank*	*drŏnken*	*drŏnken*
winnen	*wan*	*wŏnnen*	*wŏnnen*
kerven	*karf*	*korven*	*korven*
helpen	*halp*	*holpen*	*holpen*
fighten	*faught*	*foghten*	*foghten*

326. IV. **Bear**-class.

stę̄len	*stal*	*stēlen, stal*	*stǭlen*
bę̄ren	*bār*	*bēren, bār*	*bǭren*

327. V. **Give**-class.

gę̄ten	*gat*	*gēten, gat*	*gę̄ten*
sitten	*sat*	*sēten, sat*	*sę̄ten*

328. VI. **Shine**-class.

rīden	*rǭd*	*riden*	*riden*
wrīten	*wrǭt*	*writen*	*writen*

329. VII. **Choose**-class.

crēþen	*cṝþ*	*crǫþen*	*crǭþen*
chēsen	*chē̜s*	*chǫsen*	*chǭsen*

Modern English.

330. In MnE a great many strong verbs became weak—a levelling which had already made progress in ME. On the other hand some weak verbs became strong, such as *stick*, *wear* by the analogy of *sting*, *swear*.

331. Short vowels in preterites were often lengthened by the influence of the pret. plur., as in *brake*, *came*=ME IV *brak*, plur. and pret. partic. *brǭken*, *cam*.

332. Final (s, f) in the pret. sing. became (z, v) by the influence of the infin. etc., as in *rose*, *drove*=ME *rǭs*, *drǭf*, infin. *ṙīsen*, *drīven*.

333. In the above examples Early MnE preterites are original singulars. But in many cases the vowel of the plur. supplanted that of the sing., as in *bound*, many preterites having both forms: *he sang*, *he sung*; *faught*, *fought*; *wrote*, *writ*.

334. Through the connection between pret. and pret. partic. the vowel of the latter often supplanted that of the pret. even when there was no pret. plur. with the vowel of the pret. partic. as in *broke*, *bore*=earlier MnE *brake*, *bare*.

335. At last there was often complete confusion between the two forms, and in some cases the pret. was substituted for the pret. partic.; thus *sat* and *shone* have supplanted the ME preterites corresponding to OE *ġeseten*, *gescīnen*, although we no longer use *took*, *rǫse*, *rise*=(riz) as participles in educated speech.

336. The following examples will show the regular development of the strong verbs in MnE. Observe that the ME

(uu)-preterites of II took the preterite *-ew* of the more numerous verbs of I.

337. I. **Fall**-class.

fall	*fell*	*fallen*
hold	*held*	*held, beholden*
grow	*grew*	*grown*
know	*knew*	*known*

338. II. **Shake**-class.

shake	*shook*	*shaken*
take	*took*	*taken*

339. III. **Bind**-class.

sing	*sang*	*sung*
drink	*drank*	*drunk*
sting	*stung*	*stung*
swing	*swung*	*swung*
bind	*bound*	*bound(e)n*
find	*found*	*found*
fight	*fought*	*fought*

340. IV. **Bear**-class.

bear	*bare, bore*	*born(e)*
steal	*stole*	*stolen*

341. V. **Give**-class.

give	*gave*	*given*
weave	*wove*	*woven*
sit	*sat*	*sat*

342. VI. **Shine**-class.

drive	*drove*	*driven*
rise	*rose*	*risen*
write	*wrote*	*written*

bite	*bit*	*bitten*
shine	*shone*	*shone*

343. VII. **Choose**-class.

freeze	*froze*	*frozen*
choose	*chose*	*chosen*

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344. One general result of all the changes and levellings undergone by the English verbs is that in many cases we cannot tell whether a verb is weak or strong without going back to ME. So we are obliged to make a new division into **consonantal** verbs, with *d* or *t* in the preterite and pret. partic., such as *call*, *burn*, and **vocalic** verbs, whose preterites and pret. participles are formed without any addition except an occasional *-n*, such as *bind*, *see*, *let*, *set*. The following are the inflections of the consonantal verb *call* and the vocalic *see* in the present English:—

Pres. Indic. Sing. 1	*call*	*see*
2	*call*	*see*
3	*calls*	*sees*
Plur.	*call*	*see*
Pres. Subj.	*call*	*see*
Pret. (Indic. and Subj.)	*called*	*saw*
Imper.	*call*	*see*
Infin.	*call*	*see*
Pres. Partic. and Gerund	*calling*	*seeing*
Pret. Partic.	*called*	*seen*

Irregular Verbs.

345. The only regular inflections of verbs in MnE are those of such consonantal verbs as *call* and *look*. Compared with these all vocalic verbs must be regarded as irregular.

346. There are also irregular consonantal verbs. Some

of these take **-t** (often written *-ed*) instead of the regular **-d**, such as *burn, dwell, learn* [*learned* adj.], *spill, spoil* [a French verb, which owes its *-t* to the analogy of *spill*]; or **-t=-ded**, as in *gird* (OE *gyrdan, gyrde*), *build, gild, bend, lend* (from the OE pret. *lǣnde*, infin. *lǣnan*), *rend, send, spend.* Some of these last have also regular forms, such as *girded, gilded.* Others show **vowel-change**, which is generally the result of ME shortening (158), sometimes with irregular **-t**: *flee fled, creep crept, sleep, sweep, weep, leap, shoe shod; bereave bereft, cleave, leave.* The following are old seek-verbs: *sell sold, tell* (OE *sęllan, tęllan, -ealde, -alde, -ālde*); *buy, bought* (361). *lose, lost* is a combination of OE strong VII *forlēosan* and weak *losian*, the old pret. partic. of the former (*forloren*) being still preserved in *forlorn, love-lorn.* Others are still more irregular. In the following this is the result of their having had preterites in *-hte*, in the first also of ME vowel-shortening, the rest being old seek-verbs, the last two foreign verbs influenced by native ones: *teach taught; seek sought* (which is Midland, *beseech, besought* being the true Southern form), *bring, think thought* [a combination of OE *þynċan* and *þohte*], *work wrought* [OE *wyrċan worhte*, ME *wrohte*]; *catch caught, distract distraught. clothe, clad* is a combination of OE *clāþian* and *clǣþan* pret. *clǣþde, clǣdde. make made* = OE *macian macode*, ME *māk(i)en mā(ke)de.*

347. The **invariable** verbs all end in *t* or *d*, and all had a contracted weak pret. in *-te, -de* in ME, such as *sette*= OE (*iċ*) *sętte*, which was, as in ME, both pres. and pret. Some of them—marked † in the following list—were originally strong: *cast*; †*let, set, shed, spread*; *hit, rid*, †*slit, split*; *cost*; †*burst, cut, hurt, put, shut, thrust.* These verbs must strictly be regarded as vocalic.

348. The vocalic verbs are best arranged in the alphabetic order of the vowels of their preterites in phonetic spelling, to which the order of the vowels of the infinitives is subordinated:—

349. (ai . . **au.**) *bind, find, grind, wind* from the OE strong III verbs *bindan, findan, grindan, windan.* But OE *findan* generally had a weak pret. *funde.*

350. (ai . . ʊ.) *strike, struck, stricken* from OE strong VI *strīcan* 'touch lightly,' ME pret. *strǭk*, the *u* of *struck* being a MnE change.

351. (æ . . ʊ.) *hang, hung* (*hanged*) from OE strong I transitive *hōn* (=older *hōhan*), *hēng, hangen* and weak intransitive *hangian.* In Northern ME the pret. became *hing* and was then made into an infin., whence the pret. *hang*, whence, again, the partic. *hung* on the analogy of *sung.*

352. (i . . ʊ.) The following are OE strong III verbs: *cling, slink, spin, sting, swing, win, wring.* The following are weak verbs which were made strong in ME or MnE by the analogy of the above verbs: *fling, sling, spring. dig* from OE weak *dīcian* by some analogy, the pret. *dug* being a MnE formation. *stick* from OE weak *stician, stuck* being a MnE formation.

353. (ɐ . . æ : ɐ.) *run* from OE strong III *iernan* (*eornan*), *arn, urnen*, in which the *r* is transposed (149), the original consonant-order being preserved in Scandinavian *rinna, rann, runninn*, which has influenced the MnE form.

354. (i . . æ.) *sit* from OE strong V *sittan. spit spat* is a combination of the two OE weak verbs *spittan* and *spǣtan*, whose pret. *spǣtte* became regularly ME *spatte.*

355. (i . . æ . . ɐ.) The following are OE strong III verbs: *begin, drink, shrink, sing, sink, spring, stink, swim. ring* was weak in OE.

356. (i . . æ . . i-n.) (*for*)*bid, bad*(*e*), *bidden* from OE

strong V *biddan, bæd, beden*, with the vowel of the infin. introduced into the pret. partic. In ME this verb was confused with OE strong VII *bēodan* 'offer,' *forbēodan* 'forbid.'

357. (ij . . **e**.) *bleed, breed, feed, meet, speed*; *lead, read* from the OE weak *blēdan, brēdan, fēdan, ġemētan, spēdan, lǣdan, rǣdan*, whose preterites and pret. participles were regularly shortened in ME. The pret. *read* was often written *red*(*de*) in Early MnE.

358. (ij . . **e** . . ij-n.) *eat, ate, eaten* from OE strong V *etan, æt, eten*. The exceptional pret. *æt* was made into *at* in ME.

359. (ou . . **e**.) *hold* from OE strong I *healdan* (*hāldan*).

360. (ɔ . . **e** . . ɔ-n.) *fall* from OE strong I *feallan*.

361. (ai . . **ei** . . ei-n.) *lie, lay, lain* from OE strong V *licgan*. In ME this verb, together with *sęcgan* and *bycgan* (346), got rid of the *cg* by extension of such forms as *liġeþ, sęġeþ*, imper. *sęġe, byġe* etc., thus forming the new infinitives *līen* (from **liyen*), *seien, bīen*, pres. partic. *seiinge* etc.

362. (ɐ . . **ei** . . ɐ.) *come, came* from the OE irregular strong IV *cuman, cōm, cumen*. In ME *cōm* was made into *cam* on the analogy of other verbs of the same class.

363. (i . . **ei** . . i-n.) *give* from OE strong V *ġiefan*.

364. (ai . . **i**.) *light, lit* (*lighted*) is a weak verb which was made strong on the analogy of *bite* in MnE after its pronunciation had become (ləit).

365. (ai . . **i** . . i-n.) *bite*=OE strong VI *bītan*. *chide, hide* from OE weak *cīdan, hȳdan*.

366. (ij . . **ij** . . ij-n.) *beat, beat, beaten* from OE strong I *bēatan, bēot*.

367. (ai . . **o**.) *shine* from OE strong VI *scīnan*.

368. (e . . **o** . . o-n.) (*for*)*get, got, got*(*ten*) is a mixture of OE strong V *beġietan* (*beġetan*) 'get,' *forgietan*, and

Scandinavian *geta, gat, getinn* 'get.' The *o*-forms are MnE. *tread, trod, trodden* from OE strong V *tredan*, ME *trēden, trad, (i)trēden* and *troden* by the influence of *(i)broken.*

369. (ij . . **o** . . o-n.) *seethe, sod* (*seethed*), *sodden* from OE strong VII *sēoþan, sēaþ, soden.*

370. (uw . . **o.**) *shoot, shot* from OE strong VII *scēotan.* Cp. *choose* (375).

371. (ai . . **ou** . . i-n.) The following are old strong VI verbs: *drive, ride, rise, smite, write*, together with *(a)bide, shrive, stride*, some of whose forms are obsolete. *strive* and *thrive* were originally weak, the former being of French, the latter of Scandinavian origin.

372. (ei . . **ou.**) *wake, woke* (*waked*) from OE strong II *wacan* and weak *wacian.* The MnE (ou) is probably due to the influence of *rose* etc. *stave, stove* is a MnE formation from the noun *stave.*

373. (ei . . **ou** . . ou-n.) *break, steal* from OE strong IV *brecan, stelan.*

374. (ij . . **ou** . . ou-n.) *freeze* from OE strong VII *frēosan, frēas, froren. speak, weave* from OE strong V *sp(r)ecan, wefan*, whose pret. participles were made into *spoken, woven* in ME on the analogy of *broken.*

375. (uw . . **ou** . . ou-n.) *choose, chose, chosen* from OE strong VII *ċēosan, ċēas, coren*, ME infin. *chēsen*, and in West-Midland *chūsen*, whence MnE *chuse*, now written *choose.*

376. (ai . . **ɔ.**) *fight, fought* from OE strong III *feohtan.*

377. (eə . . **ɔ** . . ɔ-n.) *bear, tear* from OE strong IV *beran, teran*, whose analogy has been followed in MnE by *wear* from OE weak *węrian. swear* from OE strong II *swęrian, swōr, ġeswaren, sworen* (by the influence of the *w*), which in ME was levelled under *bęren*=OE *beran.*

378. (iə . . **ɔ** . . ɔ-n.) *shear, shore, shorn,* whose pret. is obsolete = OE strong IV *scieran* (*sceran*).

379. (ij . . **ɔ** . . ij-n.) *see, saw, seen* from OE *sēon, seah* (*sæh*), *ġesewen* (*seġen*), the ME and MnE pret. partic. being really the OE adjective *ġesīene* (*ġesēne*) 'visible,' 'seen.'

380. (æ . . **u.**) *stand, stood* from OE strong II with irregular infin. etc. *standan, stōd, standen.*

381. (ei . . **u** . . ei-n.) *forsake, shake* from OE strong II *forsacan, scacan. take* from Scandinavian *taka, tōk.*

382. (ai . . **uw** . . ou-n.) *fly, flew, flown* from OE strong VII *flēogan.* The MnE pret. probably arose in the same way as *drew* (336).

383. (ei . . **uw** . . ei-n.) *slay, slew, slain* from OE strong II *slēan* (from *sleahan*), *slōg, slæġen.* In MnE the *ai* of the partic. *slain* was extended to the infin., and the pret. *slow* underwent the usual change.

384. (ou . . **uw** . . ou-n.) *blow* from OE strong I *blāwan* 'blow' and *blōwan* 'bloom,' preterites *blēow. crow, know* from OE strong I *crāwan, cnāwan,* the partic. *crown* being now obsolete.

385. (ɔ . . **uw** . . ɔ-n.) *draw* from OE strong II *dragan.*

Mixed Verbs.

386. These have a pret. partic. in *-(e)n* with a consonantal preterite. The following—all of which have also a consonantal pret. partic.—were originally strong: *hew hewed hewn, mow(n), sow(n); grave(n), shape(n), shave(n); melt molten, swell swollen; rive riven* = OE I *hēawan, māwan, sāwan;* II *grafan, scieppan scōp* (Scand. *skapa skōp*), *scafan;* III *meltan, swellan;* Scandinavian *rīfa,* ME VI *rīven. go, went, gone* is a combination of OE strong I *gān,* pret. partic. *gegān* with the pret. of OE weak *węndan* 'turn.' In *load, laden* (*loaded*)

the MnE infin. *lāden* from OE strong II *hladan* was confused with the noun *load*, ME *lǭde* from OE *sēo lād* 'leading,' 'carrying' [cp. OE *lǣdan* 'lead,' 'carry']. The following are originally weak verbs which followed the analogy of strong verbs such as *draw*, *know* etc.: *saw sawn* (*sawed*), *show*(*n*), *strew*(*n*).

Isolated Forms.

387. **quoth** is the pret. of the strong V OE verb *cweþan*, *cwæþ* 'speak,' 'say.' Weak ME *quaþ* passed into *quod*, which were blended into *quoþ*. **hight**, ME *highte*, is a blending of an isolated OE passive *hāt-te* 'is called (named),' 'was called' and *heht*, the active pret. of the same verb (310). **iclept**=OE *ġecleopod* 'called' from the weak *cleopian*. **wont** =OE *ġewunod* pret. partic. of the weak *ġewunian* 'accustom.'

Preterite-present Verbs.

388. In OE these have for their presents old strong preterites; thus *wāt* 'I know' was originally a pret. like *wrāt* 'I wrote.' But they have *t* or *st* in the 2nd sing. indic., a *t* before the inflectional *t* becoming *s*: *iċ sceal*, *þū sceal-t*; *iċ cann*, *þū can-st*; *þū wāst*. From these presents new weak preterites are formed with various changes: *sceolde*, *cūþe*, *wiste*. Many of them are defective, the infin., imper., and participles being often wanting, the subj. being sometimes used for the imper.:—

	Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing. 1, 3	*wāt*	*wite*
2	*wāst*	
Plur.	*witon*	*witen*
Pret. Sing. 1, 3	*wist*	*wiste*
2	*wistest*	
Plur.	*wiston*	*wisten*

Imper. Sing.	*wite*	Infin.	*witan*
Plur.	*witaþ*	Gerund	*tō witenne*
Partic. Pres.	*witende*		
Pret.	*witen*		

389. In MnE most of these verbs have only a finite present and preterite, except when they have been made consonantal:—

can(st), could=OE *cann, canst, cūþe.* In ME *couþe* was made into *coude* by the influence of the *d* of *should* and *would.*

dare, darest, (he) **dare(s); durst**; infin. **dare.** OE *dearr, dearst* plur. *durron,* by whose influence *dorste* became *durste* in ME.

may(st), might=OE *mæġ, miht, mihte.*

mote (obsolete), **must.** OE *mōt*='may,' pret. *mōste,* which even in ME was used in present as well as the pret. sense; in Early MnE its (uu) was shortened.

(**owe**), **ought.** OE *āg, ahte* 'possess,' a meaning which was preserved in the pres. in ME, while the pret. developed the special meaning *ought* and by degrees came to be used as in a present sense; its vowel *ou* was introduced from the present.

shall, shalt; **should**=OE *sceal(t), scolde.*

will, wilt; **would**=OE *wile, wilt, willaþ, wolde,* the first form having been originally a strong subjunctive preterite. In OE it was contracted with preceding *ne* into *iċ nyle, wē nyllaþ* etc., whence *willy nilly*=earlier *will he nill he.*

wot, wist=OE *wāt, wiste. wot* in Early MnE was often made regular: *he wotteth, he wots.* The infin. and pres. partic. are still preserved in *to wit* and *unwittingly.*

390. One of the characteristics of these verbs is the absence of the *s* in the 3rd sing. pres. This is also the case

with the verb **need**, which is partly the result of imitation of (*he*) *ought* etc., but also of the fact that it was originally formed (in Early MnE) from the noun *need* in such sentences as *what need all this waste?*

Anomalous Verbs.

391. The verb **be** in OE is made up of three distinct roots:—

		Indic.	Subj.
Pres. Sing.	1	*eom* (*eam*); *bēo*	*sīe; bēo*
	2	*eart* (*earþ*); *bist*	*sīe; bēo*
	3	*is; biþ*	*sīe; bēo*
Plur.		*sind, sindon* (*earon*); *bēoþ*	*sīen; bēon*
Pret. Sing.	1	*wæs*	*wǣre*
	2	*wǣre*	*wǣre*
	3	*wæs*	*wǣre*
Plur.		*wǣron*	*wǣren*
Imper. Sing.		*wes; bēo*	Infin. *wesan; bēon*
Plur.		*wesaþ; bēoþ*	Gerund *tō wesenne; tō bēonne*

392. The Standard ME forms are: *am, art, is, bē(n)*; subj. *bē, bē(n)*; pret. *was, wē̆r(e), was, wē̆re(n)*; pret. subj., *wē̆r(e), wē̆re(n)*; imper. *bē, bēþ*; infin. *bē(n)*; participles *bēinge, bē(n)*. The ME pret. partic. is, of course, an analogical new formation. The North-Thames plur. *ar(n)* is still rare in Standard ME, but is firmly established in Early MnE, which inflects: *am, art, is, are*; subj. *be*; pret. *was, wast, wert*, plur. *were*; subj. pret. *were, wert, were*; infin. *be*; partic. *being, been*. The use of *be* in the pres. indic. is still kept up in Early MnE: *I be, thou beest, they be*, etc.; the form *he bes* is, however, very rare. There is in MnE a tendency to get rid of the distinctively subjunctive inflections of this verb not only by using *thou beest* as if it were a

subjunctive—*if thou beest=if thou be*—but also by substituting *if I was* for *if I were*, etc.

393. have. OE *hæbbe, hæfst, hæfþ*, plur. *habbaþ*; subj. *hæbbe, hæbben*; pret. *hæfde*; imper. *hafa, habbaþ*; infin. *habban*; partic. *hæbbende, ġehæfd.* In ME the old *bb* was gradually supplanted by the *v*=OE *f* of the other forms, the *v* itself being often dropped by contraction. The Standard ME forms are: *hāve*, weak *hav, hast, haþ*, plur. *hāve(n), hān, han*; pret. *hadde*; pret. partic. *had.* In ME the weak short-vowel forms gradually supplanted the long-vowel ones; but we keep the long-vowel forms in the derivative *behave*, pret. *behaved*=ME *behāven.* The MnE literary forms are: *have, hast, hath, has* plur. *have*; subj. *have*; pret. *had*; imper. and infin. *have*; partic. *having, had.*

394. do. OE *dō, dēst, dēþ*, plur. *dōþ*; pret. weak *dyde*; imper. *dō, dōþ*; infin. *dōn*; partic. *dōnde, ġedōn.* In Standard ME the *ō* of the other parts of the verb supplanted the older *ē*: *dō, dōst, dōþ*, plur. *dōn*; *dide*; imper. *dō, dōþ*; partic. *dōinge dō(n).*

PARTICLES.

395. The OE particles are **primary**, such as *be* 'by,' or **secondary.** The latter are formed from other (declinable) parts of speech; thus *hām* in *hē ēode hām* 'he went home' is formed from the masc. noun *hām* 'home(stead).' Many adverbs are used also as prepositions and conjunctions, such as OE *ǣr* and its MnE equivalent *before.*

Adverbs from Nouns and Adjectives.

396. In OE, adverbs were formed from adjectives by

adding **-e**, such as *dēop-e* 'deeply,' *heard-e* 'with vigour,' whence MnE *deep*, *hard*, as in *drink deep*, *pull hard*, the distinction between these adverbs and the corresponding adjectives being lost.

397. Hence OE adjectives in *-liċ* '-ly' formed adverbs in **-līce**, such as *ġesæ̂liġlīċe* 'happily' from *ġesæ̂liġliċ*. As there was also an adjective *ġesæ̂liġ* 'happy,' such adverbs came to be regarded as formed directly from the adjectives *ġesæ̂liġ* etc. till at last *-līċe*, and its ME form *-līche*, was used as an independent adverb-ending instead of *-e*, as in ME *dēplīche*. By degrees *-līche* was levelled under the adjective-ending *-lich*=OE *-liċ*, Midland and Standard ME *-li*, which in MnE has become the regular adverb-ending, as in *deeply*, *hardly*.

398. The MnE **-wise** arose out of the OE feminine noun *wīse* 'manner' in such phrases as *on ōþre wīsan* 'in another way,' which in ME was made into the single word *ōþrewīse*, *ōþerwīse*, on the analogy of which new adverbs were formed, such as *likewise*.

399. Many OE adverbs were formed directly from nouns and adjectives, either uninflected, such as *hām*, *eall* 'entirely,' *ġenōg* 'sufficiently,' or inflected, such as *hwīl-um* dat. plur. 'at times,' 'sometimes,' ME *whīlŏm*, *dæġes* gen. 'by day,' this last ending being much extended in ME and MnE as in *always*=OE *ealne weġ* acc. literally 'all (the) way,' ME *ōnes* 'once.' Hence **-ways**, **-times** etc. came to be used as adverbial endings, as in *lengthways* (also *lengthwise*), *sometimes*, *ofttimes*.

400. *ealne-weġ*, *of-dūne* (126) are examples of group-adverbs. So also *alive*, *asleep*, *beside*(*s*) come from the OE *on līfe* dat. 'in life,' *on slæ̂pe*, *be sīdan* 'by the side.'

Pronominal Adverbs.

401. There is in OE a symmetrical group of place-adverbs connected with the pronouns *hē*, *þæt*, *hwæt*:—

hēr, 'here'	*hider* 'hither' (220)	*heonon(e)* 'hence' (399)
þǣr 'there'	*þider* 'thither'	*þanon* 'thence'
hwǣr 'where'	*hwider* 'whither'	*hwanon* 'whence'

402. Many OE pronouns are used as adverbs and conjunctions, such as *þæt* 'that,' *hwæþer* 'whether,' *ā-hwæþer*, *āþer* 'either,' ME *ǭþer*, weak *or*, *nā(hwæ)þer* 'neither,' whence MnE *nor*, *ǣġþer*. The ME *nę̄iþer* (279) was also used as a conjunction, as also the ME *bǭþe* (279), and OE *þȳ* 'the' in *the more the merrier*, *hwȳ* 'why,' which are old instrumental cases of *þæt*, *hwæt*.

403. There are many group-particles in OE consisting of a preposition with a pronoun in the dat. or instr., such as *for-þǣm*, *for-þȳ* 'therefore,' conjunctions taking the relative particle *þe*, as in *for-þǣm-þe* 'because,' *æfter-þǣm-þe* 'after.' There are other similar groups containing nouns and adverbs, such as *þā-hwīle-þe* 'the time that,' 'while,' *þȳ-lǣs-þe* 'lest,' literally 'by-that less that.' In ME these groups were gradually shortened into *for*, *after*, *whīle*, *whīles* (399), MnE *whilst*—*lę̄sþe*, *lest(e)*.

Other Adverbs.

404. OE *swā* has become *so* in MnE. OE *eall-swā* 'entirely so' became in ME strong *als(w)ǭ*, whence MnE *also*, and weak *a(l)se*, whence MnE *as*. The development of *wher(so)ever*, *whenever* etc. out of OE *swā-hwǣr-swā* etc. is parallel to that of *whoever* etc. (275).

405. The OE **negative** particle is *ne*, which is prefixed to the verb and to all the other words in the sentence with which it forms contractions, such as *nyle* (389), *nān* : *nān ne dorste nān þing āscian* 'no-one durst ask anything.' If there are no contracted negatives besides the *ne* before the chief verb, *nā*, *nō* or *naht*, *noht* are added: *þæt hūs nā ne fēoll* 'the house did not fall.' ME has the same usage; but by degrees, as *naht*, *noht* were weakened into *nat*, *not*, these forms, after being mere strengtheners of the *ne*, began to supplant it. In MnE *ne* disappeared entirely, and the influence of Latin caused the disuse of the old pleonastic negations such as *I do not know nothing*, which are now vulgar.

Prepositions.

406. The OE prepositions govern the accusative, dative (instrumental), and sometimes the genitive.

407. Most of them can be used also as adverbs, as in *hē dyde on his byrnan* 'he put on his corslet,' and in such combinations as *þǣr-on*, *þǣr-tō* 'therein'='in it,' 'to it,' *on* often having the meaning 'in' in OE. The adverbs corresponding to the prepositions *be* 'by' and *in* are *bī* and *inn*. In fact, all the prepositions were originally adverbs, which were added to nouns to express more definitely what was already indicated by the case. Thus in *on þǣm hūse* 'in the house' the idea of 'rest in a place' was originally expressed by the dative alone. Hence *bī* preserves the strong form of which *be* is a weakening.

408. In OE there are compound prepositions formed by prefixing a preposition to an adverb of place or some other part of speech, *be* being shortened before a vowel: *be-foran* 'before,' *b-ufan* 'above,' *b-ūtan* 'outside'—used also as a

conjunction 'except,' 'but,' being shortened in ME *bŏte*— whence, again, *on-būtan* 'around,' 'about' [cp. *alive*, 400], *wiþ-innan* 'within,' *wiþ-ūtan* 'outside,' *on-gemang* 'among,' literally 'into the crowd.'

409. In ME *bī* supplanted the preposition *be*, which was kept only in such groups as *beforen*, *besīde*. OE *innan* 'inside' was used instead of *on* to express 'in,' being gradually shortened to *in*(*e*), whence MnE *in*. OE *mid* 'with' and *wiþ* 'against' were confused till at last *wiþ* took the meaning of *mid*, which was then disused.

COMPOSITION.

410. Composition in OE consists in joining together two words, the first of which becomes indeclinable, while the last retains its inflections, the first having the stronger stress. Thus *þæt gold* and *se smiþ* form the compound noun *se ·gold:-smiþ*. Word-groups beginning with an inflected adjective or genitive case have the same stress, as in *·gōd :dǽd* 'good action' compared with *gōddǽd* 'benefit' *cwicseolfor* 'quicksilver,' *·cyninges :sunu* 'king's son,' *Mōnan-dæġ* 'Monday,' literally 'moon's day.'

411. But in MnE the stress in these groups has been made equal, so that we are able to distinguish by stress alone between such compounds as *blackbird*, *crow's-foot* (a plant) and the groups *·black ·bird*, a *·crow's ·foot*, and can use a noun in the plural as the first element of a compound, as in *clothesbrush*, *newspaper*.

412. In OE, besides compounds of **noun** or **adjective + noun**, there are compounds of **noun + adjective**, such as

wīn-sæd 'satiated with wine,' and of **adjective + adjective**, such as *wīd-cūþ* 'widely known.' There is also a class of 'conversion-compounds,' consisting of adjective + noun, the whole compound being an adjective, such as *glæd-mōd* 'having a glad mood,' *blīþ-heort* [*heorte* 'heart'] 'blithe of heart,' 'cheerful.'

413. In OE verbs are compounded only with particles and inseparable prefixes (127) and a few adjectives used in similar adverbial meanings, as in *full-fyllan* 'fully fill,' 'fulfill.' In MnE verbs are compounded with greater freedom, as in the noun *break-water* and the verbs *browbeat, whitewash.*

DERIVATION.

Native Elements.

PREFIXES.

414. Of the OE prefixes, some are **strong**(stressed), some **weak.** Noun- and adjective-prefixes are generally strong, as in *mis-dǽd* 'misdeed,' *·un-cūþ* 'unknown,' while verb-prefixes are generally weak. When a prefix is used both with nouns (and adjectives) and with verbs it is generally shortened and weakened in the latter combination, as in

·and-giet 'intelligence'	*on·gietan* 'understand'
·bī-gang 'circuit'	*be·gān* 'practice,'

the distinction between the last two being parallel to that between the adverb *bī* and the preposition *be*, *bī-* and *bī* being originally the same word. When a verb is formed direct from a noun, the strong prefix is preserved, as in *·andswarian* 'answer' from the noun *and-swaru* [cp. *swęrian* 'swear'].

Conversely, when a noun is formed from a verb the weak form of the prefix is kept, as in *ā·līesednis* 'redemption' from *ā·līesan* 'release' [cp. *ā·rīsan* 'arise'].

415. But it sometimes happens that the weak prefix of the verb supplants the originally strong prefix. Thus the weak *ġe-* is the only form, even in independent nouns and adjectives such as *ġefēra* 'companion,' *ġelīc* 'like,' having supplanted an older strong form.

416. Sometimes the original distinction between the strong and weak form is lost, though the distinction of stress is kept. Thus the originally strong form in *·for-wyrd* 'destruction' is kept in *for·weorþan* 'perish,' *for·giefan* 'forgive' [note that this prefix has no connection with the prepositions *for* 'for,' *fore* 'before']. *of-* [which is the same word as the preposition and adverb *of*, 'of,' 'off'] is used in the same way: *·of-spring* 'offspring,' *of·drĉdan* 'fear.'

417. The unstressed *on-* [strong *and-*, 414] and *tō-* expressing 'separation' etc., as in *on·bindan* 'unbind,' *on·drĉdan* 'fear,' *tō·brecan* 'break to pieces,' are quite distinct from the prepositions *on* and *to*.

418. In ME *ġe-* was weakened to *i-* and then dropped; but it is still preserved in *enough*, *ywis*=OE *ġenōg*, *ġewiss* 'certain.'

419. In ME *of-* and *on-* were often weakened to *a-* [cp. 408], and as *ā-* was shortened to *a-*, all three were often levelled under one form, whence the MnE *ashamed*, *abide*, *arise* etc.=OE *ofsċamod*, *onbīdan*, *ārīsan*. But those verbs in which OE *on-* reversed the meaning of the verb it was prefixed to, saved their prefix from being weakened into *a-* by identifying it with the nearly synonymous noun-prefix *un-*, whence the MnE *unbind* from OE *onbindan*,

together with many new-formations, such as *unfasten*, *unchain*.

SUFFIXES.

420. Some of the OE suffixes which contained *i* or *j* in Germanic, caused mutation of the preceding vowel, as in *gylden* 'golden,' where, as is often the case, the unmutated vowel was afterwards restored by the influence of the underived word [OE *gold* 'gold'], which sometimes happened in OE itself. In the following examples of the most important OE suffixes those which originally caused mutation are marked †.

Noun-forming. (*a*) *Concrete.*

421. *leorn***ere** 'learn-er' from *leornian* 'to learn'; in ME and MnE this suffix was often confused with French and Latin *-e(e)r*, *-ier*, *-o(u)r* (430), whence MnE *liar* (192), *sailor* = OE *lēogere*, **seglere*. *bæc***estre** 'baker-ess,' *tæppestre* 'female tapster'; in ME this ending came to be regarded as masc. through its similarity to *-er*, although *spinster* is still feminine. *Æþelwulf***ing** 'son of Æþelwulf'; *dēor***ling** 'darling' [*dēore* precious'].

(*b*) *Abstract.*

422. *gōd***nis(s)**, *gōdnes* 'good-ness.' †*hēt***u** 'heat,' *wrāþ(þ)u* 'wrath' [*hāt* 'hot,' *wrāþ* 'angry']. †*þīef*þ 'theft' *trēowþ* 'fidelity' [*þēof* 'thief,' *trēowe* 'faithful']. *bletsung* 'blessing,' *leornung*, *leorning* 'learning' from the verbs *bletsian*, *leornian*. The following endings were originally independent words in OE itself:—

424. *crīsten***dōm** 'christianity,' *wīsdōm* 'wis-dom' [*se dōm*

'judgment,' 'authority']. *prēost***hād** 'priestly office,' *ċildhād* 'childhood' [*se hād* 'rank,' 'condition']; ME has *-hōd* instead of *-hē̆d*, and also *-hē̆de* through the influence of the OE suffix in *frēond-rāeden* 'relationship,' whence MnE *maidenhead* [OE *mæġphād*]. *hlāford***scipe** 'authority' [*hlāford* 'lord'], *frēond-scipe* 'friend-ship' [cp. *sċieppan* 'shape,' 'appoint'].

Adjective-forming.

425. †*gyld***en** 'gold-en,' *hǣþen* 'heathen' [*hǣþ* 'heath']; some adjectives in *-en* without mutation are old strong pret. participles, such as *drunken*, *fain*=OE *fægen* 'glad' from *gefēon* 'rejoice.' *hāl***ig** (Germanic *-ag*) 'holy' [*hāl* 'sound,' 'whole'], *mōdig* 'proud'; †*hē̆fig* 'heavy' [cp. *hē̆bban* 'lift,' pret. partic. *hafen*], *bysig* 'busy.' †*Frēnc***isc** 'French' [*Franc-land* 'land of the Franks,' 'France'], *folcisc* 'vulgar.' *wyn***sum** 'pleasant' [*wynn* 'joy']. The following were independent words in Germanic:—

426. *manig***feald** 'many-fold,' *seofonfeald* 'sevenfold' [*fealdan* 'to fold']. *synn***full** 'sin-ful,' *carfull* 'careful' [*full* 'full']. *slǣp***lēas** 'sleep-less,' *rē̆ċċelēas* 'careless' [*lēas* 'deprived of'; cp. *forlēosan* 'lose']. *eorþ***liċ** 'earth-ly,' *wīfliċ* 'feminine,' originally 'having a woman's form' (412), *-liċ* being a shortened *līc* 'body.' *hām***weard**, adv. *hāmweardes* (399) home-ward(s), *inneweard* 'inward.'

Verb-forming.

427. Scandinavian **-na**, as in *hwītna* 'become white,' *harþna* 'become hard,' was imported into ME, whence MnE *whiten*, *harden*.

Foreign Elements.

428. These are mainly French (marked *), Latin, and Greek (marked †). Many which came into English in their popular French forms were afterwards latinized more or less, this latinizing having sometimes begun in French itself. Thus ME *aventūre* is exactly the French form from Latin (*rēs*) *adventūra* '(a thing) about to happen.' But in Late Old French and Late ME the word was latinized into *adventure*, which spelling has in E. corrupted the pronunciation, and so in other cases.

429. In Latin and Greek, many of the prefixes vary according to the nature of the sound they precede, final consonants being often assimilated, as in *assentāre*=*ad-sentāre*; these changes are generally kept up in English, as in *assent*.

430. The following examples will show the chief foreign prefixes in their alphabetical order, the unmarked ones being of direct Latin origin:—

abs*tinence*, *ab-rupt*, *a-vert*. **ad***ept*, *as-sent*, *ag-gravate* etc. **amb***ition*. †**amphi***bious*. †**an***archy* [cp. *mon-archy*], *a-theist*. †**ana***baptist*, *analogy*. **ante***room*, *anti-cipate*. †**anti***pathy*, *antiradical*. **apo***stasy*, *aph-orism*. **bi***ennial*. †**cata***ract*, *cat-echise*. **circum***navigate*, *circu-itous*. **com***mit*, *con-vince*, *co-incide*, *col-league* etc.; **com-fort*, **coun-cil*. **contra***dict*, *contro-versy*; **counter-poise*. **de***throne*, *devious*. ***demi***god* [from Latin *dimidium*]. †**di***graph*='twice.' †**dia***meter*, *di-ocese*='through.' **dis***arm*, *dif-ferent* etc.; **des-cant*, **de-part*. †**en***ergy*. †**epi***gram*, *eph-emeral*. **ex***tend*, *ef-fect*, *e-vade*, **es-cape*. †**ex***odus*, *ec-stasy*. **extra***vagant*. †**hyper***critical*. †**hypo***thesis*, *hyph-en*. **in***sane*, *im-pious*, *i-gnorant*, *il-liberal* etc.='un-'. **in***vade*, *im-pel*, *ir-ruption* etc.; **en-dure*, *em-*

bellish='in,' 'into.' **inter***val, intel-lect*; **enter-tain*. **intro***duce*. †**meta***morphosis, meth-od*. **ne***farious, ne-utral*. **non***conductor*. **ob***viate, os-tensible, o-mit, oc-cur* etc. †**para***graph, par-enthesis*. **per***mit, pel-lucid*; **par-don*. **post***pone*. **pre***suppose*. **preter***natural*. **pro***gress, prod-igy*; **pur-chase, por-trait*. †**pro***logue*. †**pros***elyte* 'towards.' **re***peat, red-eem*. **retro***grade*. **se***parate*. **semi***circle*. **sine***cure*. **sub***ordinate, sup-port* etc. **super***natural*; **sur-face*. **sus***pend, su-spect* ='under.' †**syn***agogue, sy-stem, syl-lable* etc. **trans***form, tra-duce*; **tres-pass*. **ultra***mundane*.

SUFFIXES.

These are arranged under each section so that those which consist entirely of vowels come first, and are followed by those that contain consonants in the alphabetic order of the consonants.

Noun-forming. (*a*) *Personal.*

431. **trust***ee, refugee* [*-é* from Latin *-ātus*]. *vic***ar**; **offic***er*, **caval***ier*, **volunt***eer* [L. *-ārius, -āris*]. *auth-***or**; **savi***our*. **slugg***ard*, *bragg***art**. **godd***ess, lioness* [from L. *-issa*]. †*art***ist**, *communist*. †*Israel***ite**, *jacobite*. *ora***tor**, *testator*. *testa***trix**.

(*b*) *Diminutive.*

432. *glob***ule**, *animal***cule**; **parti***cle*. **isl***et*, *dulcet*; *leaf***let**.

(*c*) *Abstract.*

433. **modest***y, fancy* [from L. *-ia*]; **Italy* [from L. *-ia*]; **remed***y* [from L. *-ium*]. **count***y, army, attorney*=weak ME

-ē from French *-é* [L. *-ātus*] and *-ée* [L. *-āta*]. *avar***ice**, *practice*; **pract***ise**, *merchandise*. *constan***cy**, *bankruptcy*, *minstrel***sy**. †*Ili***ad**, *Dunciad*, †*Aene***id**. **colonn***ade**, *promenade* [from L. *-āta* through Italian]. **band***age**, *courage* [from L. *-āticum*]. *argu***ment**, *ornament*. *opin***ion**, *compulsion*, *action*. *Johnsoni***ana** [L. *-āna* adj. neuter pl.]. *ignoran***ce**, *experience*; *brillian***cy**, *consistency*. *splend***or**; **honour* [American *-or*]. **poet***ry**, *peasantry*=French *-(i)er* (431)+*-y* (433). *fig***ure**, *departure*. †*despot***ism**, *anglicism*; *witt***icism**=*-ic* (434)+*-ism*. *consul***ate**, *magistrate*. *forti***tude**, *multitude*. **proper***ty**, *capacity*, *durability*=French *-té* from L. *-tās*, *-tātem*.

Adjective-forming.

434. *no***ble**, *reliable*, *terrible*, *soluble*. **tre***ble** [from L. *-plex*, whence *-ple* in *multiple*]. *mori***bund**, *vagabond*. *domest***ic**, †*logic*, *mathematics*; *mus***ical**. †*man***iac**, *Syriac*. *ac***id**, *splendid*. †*anthrop***oid**, *alkaloid*. *equ***al**; *essent***ial**. *civ***il**, *fert***ile**. *hum***an**, *Roman*, *hum***ane**; **capt***ain**, *herc***ulean**, *European* [a blending of L. *-(a)eus* and *-an*]. *Christ***ian**, *plebeian*. *div***ine**, *feminine*, *glycerine*, *case***in**. *ignoran***t**, *innocent*. *pesti***lent**. *famili***ar**, *regular*. *necess***ary**. *super***ior**, *junior*. *Chin***ese**. *verb***ose**; **furi***ous**. **pictur***esque**, *burlesque* [from L. *-iscus* through Italian]. *corrup***t**, *accura***te**, *nitrate*, *favourite*. *act***ive**, *plaintive*; **plaint***iff**.

Verb-forming.

435. **puri***fy**, *deify* [from L. *-ficāre*]. **fin***ish**, *flourish* [from L. *-ēscere*]. †*theor***ize**, *civilize*.

APPENDIX.

SPECIMENS OF ENGLISH.

Old English.

Early West-Saxon.

1.

Ælċ þāra þe þās mīn word ġe·hīerþ, ǫnd þā wyrċþ, biþ ġe·līc þǣm wīsan were, sē his hūs ofer stān ġet·imbrede. Þā cōm þǣr rēn ǫnd miċel flōd, ǫnd þǣr blēowon windas, ǫnd ā·hruron on þæt hūs, ǫnd hit nā ne fēoll: sōþlīċe hit wæs ofer stān ġe·timbred.

Ǫnd ælċ þāra þe ġe·hīerþ þās mīn word, ǫnd þā ne wyrċþ, sē biþ ġe·līc þǣm dysigan męnn, þe ġe·timbrede his hūs ofer sǫnd-ċeosol. Þā rīnde hit, ǫnd þǣr cōm flōd, ǫnd blēowon windas, ǫnd ā·hruron on þæt hūs, ǫnd þæt hūs fēoll; ǫnd his hryre wæs miċel.

1. **ǣlċ** 'each' (§ 279), here used as a noun governing the genitive. **þāra** gen. plur. of *sē* 'that-one,' 'he' (l. 2). **þe** indeclinable relative pronoun and particle (§ 403) 'who.' **þās mīn word** 'these my words;' **þās** and **mīn** are in the neut. plur. in agreement with *word* (§ 225). **ġehīerþ** 'hears,' Late West-Saxon *ġehȳrþ* (§ 138), with the usual West-Saxon contraction (§ 289); the Anglian form is *ġehēreþ*. **ǫnd**, Late West-Saxon *and*. **þā** neut. 'those-ones,' 'them.' **wyrċþ** 'works,' Anglian *wirceþ*; the noun is *þæt ġeweorc*. **biþ** 'is' (§ 391). **2. ġelīc**

'like,' adj. governing dat. **wīsan** weak (§ 249) dat. sing. of *wīs* 'wise.' **wer** 'man.' **ofer** 'over,' 'on,' preposition governing acc. and dat. **stān**, § 255. **timbran** 'build' belongs to the hear-class of weak verbs, the *e* of the pret. *timbrede* being inserted to make the pronunciation easier. **3. þā** 'then.' **cōm**, § 362. **þǣr** 'there,' Anglian *þēr* (§ 137). **rēn** 'rain' = Anglian *regn*. **miċel** 'great,' Late West-Saxon *myċel*, whence MnE *much* (§ 166); the older form is preserved in the name *Mitchell*. **blāwan** 'blow,' strong I. **4. hrēosan, ā·hr.** (§ 414), strong verb VII 'fall.' **on** 'on,' 'in,' preposition with acc. and dat, **nā**, § 405. **feallan**, strong verb I. **sōþlīce** 'truly,' 'for'; **sōþ** adj. 'true.' **7. dysiġ** 'foolish,' whence MnE *dizzy*. **ċeosol, ċisel** 'gravel'; cp. the *Chesil Bank* and *Chiselhurst*. **rīnan** 'to rain,' Anglian *rignan*, from **regnjan*, with a mutation of *e* into *i*. **hryre** masc. 'fall,' the *y* being a mutation of the *u* in *hruron* 'they fell' (§ 138).

2.

Ġif hwelċ mǫnn hæfþ hund sċēapa, ǫnd him losaþ ān of þǣm, hū, ne for·lǣtt hē þā nigon ǫnd hund·nigontiġ on þǣm muntum, ǫnd gǣþ, ǫnd sēċþ þæt ān þe for·wearþ? Ǫnd ġif hit ġe·limpþ þæt hē hit fint, sōþlīċe iċ ēow sęcge þæt hē swīþor ġe·blissaþ for þǣm ānum þonne for þǣm nigon ǫnd hund·nigontigum þe nā ne losodon.

1. ġif 'if,' ME *yif, if*, the *y* being dropped as in *i-* from OE *ġe-* (§ 415). **hwelċ**, *hwilċ*, Late West-Saxon *hwylċ* 'which'; *ġif hwelċ* 'if any.' **mǫnn**, Late West-Saxon *mann*, which also occurs in Early W. S. (§ 134). **hund** (§ 283) governs the gen. **sċēap**, Anglian *scēp* (§ 141), neut. (l. 3 *þæt*) 'sheep.' **him** dat. § 259. **losian** weak verb love-class 'be lost,' 'perish' [cp. § 346]. **2. þǣm** dat. plur. (and sing.). **for·lǣtan** 'forsake,' 'leave'; *lātan*, Anglian *lētan* strong I 'let.' **hund·nigontiġ**, § 282. **3. munt** masc. 'mountain,' from Latin *montem*. **gǣþ** 'goes,' infin. *gān* (§ 290); cp. *dēþ* 'does' (§ 394). **ān** 'one,' keeps its strong inflection after the definite article; so also in l. 5 [the weak dat. sing. ending is *-an*, as in *þǣm dysigan* l. 7]. **forweorþan** strong III 'perish'; *weorþan* (*hē wierþ*), *wearp, wurdon, ġeworden* (§ 150) 'become,' cognate with *-weard* (§ 426) and Latin *vertere*. **4. ġelimpan** strong III 'happen.' **findan**, § 349. **sęcgan**, § 302. **5. swīþor**

adverb compar. (§ 252); *swīþ-e* (§ 396) 'strongly,' 'very.' **ġeblissian** weak love-verb 'rejoice'; *bliss* fem. 'joy' from *blīþe*. 'glad' [through **blīþ-s*].

3.

Ohthęre sæde his hlāforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt hē eallra Norþmǫnna norþmest būde. Hē cwæþ þæt hē būde on þæm lǫnde norþweardum wiþ þā Westsæ. Hē sæde þēah þæt þæt lǫnd sīe swīþe lǫng norþ þǫnan; ac hit is eall wēste, būton on fēawum stōwum styċċemælum wīciaþ Finnas, on huntoþe on wintra, ǫnd on sumera on fiscaþe be þære sæ.

1. Ohthęre, a Norwegian in the service of King Alfred. **hlāford** 'lord,' from *hlāf* 'loaf,' 'bread' and *-weard* = *weard* 'guardian.' Observe that the next two words being in apposition to *hlāforde* are put in the same case—the dative. **cyning** 'king' (§ 422). **eallra** strong gen. plur. of *eall* 'all.' **2. Norþmǫnn** 'Northman,' 'Norwegian.' **norþmest** adverb superl. (§ 256). **būan** 'dwell,' pret. *būde*. **cwæþ**, § 387. **3. land** neut. **norþweard** adj.; *þæt land n.* 'the north (part) of the country.' **wiþ** pret. with acc. 'against,' 'along' (§ 409). **sæ** 'sea' strong fem., acc. and dat. sing. *sæ* [cp. l. 6]. **þēah** 'though,' 'however.' **4. sīe** 'is,' 'extends,' subj. (§ 391). **swīþe**, see 2. 5. **þǫnan** = *þanon* (§ 401). **ac** 'but.' **wēste** adj. 'desert.' **5. būton** 'except' (§ 408). **fēa(we)** plur. 'few.' **stōw** fem. 'place.' **styċċemælum** adv. 'piecemeal,' 'here and there' (§ 399). **wīcian** weak love-verb 'encamp,' 'dwell.' **Finnas** masc. plur. 'Fins,' 'Laplanders.' **6. huntoþ** masc. 'hunting'; *hunta* 'hunter.' **wintra** irregular dat. sing of *winter* masc. **sumera** irregular dat. sing. of *sumor*.

Early Mercian.

[This extract is from an interlinear translation of the Psalms; it is, therefore, not altogether idiomatic.]

4.

Dryhten, nāles in eorre þīnum þū þrēast mē, ne in hātheortnisse þīnre þū þrēast mē. Mīldsa mē Dryhten, for-þon

untrum iċ eam; hæl mē Dryhten, for-þon ġe·drœfed sindun all bān mīn, ǫnd sāwl mīn ġe·drœfed is swīþe. Ǫnd þū, Dryhten, ġe·ċęrr, ǫnd ġe·nęre sāwle mīne; hālne mē dō fore mīldheortnisse þīne, for-þon nis in dēaþe sē ġe·myndiġ sīe þīn; in hęlle sōþlīċe hwelċ ǫndetteþ þē? Iċ wǫnn in ġēamrunge mīnre; iċ þwēa þorh syndri(ġ)e næht będd mīn mid tēarum. Ġe·drœfed is fore eorre ēge mīn; iċ āldade be·twīh alle fēond mīne. Ġe·wītaþ frǫm mē alle þā wirċaþ unrehtwīsnisse. For-þon ġe·hērde Dryhten stefne wōpes mīnes; ġe·hērde Dryhten bœne mīne; Dryhten ġe·bed mīn ġe·nōm. Sċǫmien ǫnd sīen ġe·drœfde alle fēond mīne; sīen for·ċęrred on·bec, ǫnd sċǫmien swīþe hredlīċe.

1. Dryhten 'lord.' **nāles** 'not' = *nā-lēs* 'not less.' **in** governs the dat. and acc. like *on*. **eorre** neut. 'anger' = West-Saxon *ierre*. **þrēan** weak verb 'rebuke' (§ 290). **ne** 'nor.' **hātheortnis**(s) fem. 'hot-heartedness,' 'fury.' **2. mīldsian**, W. S. *miltsian*, weak love-class 'pity,' from *mīlde*, W. S. *milde* (§ 133) 'mild.' **for·þon** 'because'; *þon* is an old instrumental case of *þæt* (cp. § 403). **3. un-trum** 'weak'; *trum* 'firm.' **eam** = W. S. *eom* (§ 391). **hēlan** weak verb, § 138. **ġedrœfan** weak verb 'disturb' = W. S. *gedrēfan*, the mutation of *ō* (§ 138) being in this dialect always preserved in its older form of *œ* = close (œœ). **sindun** = **sindon**, § 391. **4. bān** neut. 'bone.' **sāw(u)l** fem. 'soul.' **swīþe**, see 2. 5. **5. ċęrran** weak verb 'turn.' **nęrian** weak verb wean-class (§ 303). **hāl**, § 138. **dōn** 'do,' 'make' (§ 394). **fore** prep. with acc. 'before,' 'on account of.' **6. mīld-heort-nis** fem. 'mild-heartedness,' 'mercy.' **n-is** 'is not' (§ 405). **dēaþ** masc. 'death.' **sē** (§ 261) = *sē-þe* 'who', 'he who.' **ġemyndiġ** 'mindful'; *ġemynd* 'memory.' **7. þīn** gen. 'of thee' (§ 265). **hęll** fem. 'hell.' **hwelċ** 'which (one),' 'who'; cp. 2. 1. **ǫndettan** weak verb 'confess.' **winnan** strong III 'labour'; *ġewinnan* 'win.' **ġēamrung** fem. 'mourning,' 'lamentation' = W. S. *gēomrung* from *gēomrian* 'lament,' *gēomor* 'sad.' **8. þwēan** strong II (pret. *þwōg*) 'wash.' **þorh** 'through' with acc. = W. S. *þurh*. **syndriġ** 'sundry'; cp. *sundor* 'apart.' **næht** fem. sing. and plur. 'night(s)' = W. S. *nieht*, *niht*. **będd** neut. **9. tēar** masc. **ēge** weak neut. 'eye' = W. S. *ēage* (§ 144). **āldian** (§ 133) 'grow old.' **betwīh(s)** 'betwix-t,' 'among.' **10. fēond** masc. sing. and plur.

'enemy'; originally pres. partic. of *frēon* 'hate'; so *frēond* 'friend' was a pres. partic. meaning 'loving.' **ġewītan** strong VI 'depart.' **þā**, see 1. 6. **wiṙcan**, see 1. 1. **un-reht-wīs-nis** fem. 'unrighteousness'; *rehtwīs* = W. S. *ryhtwīs* 'rightly wise,' 'righteous.' **11. hēran** = W.S. *hīeran*. **stefn** fem. 'voice.' **wōp** masc. 'weeping'; cp. *wēpan*, W. S. *wēþan* 'weep.' **12. bēn** fem., W. S. *bēn* 'prayer,' 'request.' **ġebed** neut. 'prayer'; from the plur. *ġebedu* comes MnE *bead* (§ 163). **niman** strong irreg. IV pret. *nōm*, pret. partic. *ġenumen*, whence MnE *numb*. **13. sc̣omian** 'be ashamed'; *sc̣ōmu*, *scamu* fem. 'shame.' **for·ċęrran** 'turn' (cp. l. 5). **14. bæc** neut. 'back,' *on·bæc* 'backwards'; in this text *æ* is written *e*. **hredlīce** = *hræd-līce*, *hræþ-līċe*, quickly'; from the compar. *hraþor* comes MnE *rather*.

Middle English.

[French and Latin words are in italics. In the notes forms introduced by = are West-Saxon, unless otherwise designated.]

5.

Early Southern.

Mọ̄ sleaþ wōrd þene swēord. 'Līf and deaþ,' seiþ Salomon, 'is ine tūnge họ̄nden': 'Hwọ̄-se witeþ wel his mūþ, hē witeþ,' hē seiþ, 'his sọ̄ule.' 'Hwọ̄-se ne wiþ·halt his wōrdes,' seiþ Salomon þe wīse, 'hē is ase buruh wiþ·ūten wal, þēr ase verd męi in over·al.' Þe vēond of helle mid his ferd went þurh þe tūtel þęt is ę̄ver open intō þe heorte. In *vitas patrum* hit telleþ þęt ọ̄n họ̄li mon seide, þēo me *preisede* ane of þe brēþren þęt hē hęfde i·herd þęt wēren of müche spēche: 'Gōde,' cwęþ hē, 'hēo bōþ; auh hore wunnunge naveþ nọ̄ ȝęt: hore mūþ maþeleþ ę̄ver; and hwọ̄-se ę̄ver wüle męi gọ̄n in, and lę̄den vorþ hore asse;' þęt is, hore unwīse sọ̄ule. Vorþī, seiþ *sein* Jāme: 'ȝif ę̄ni wēneþ þęt hē bēo *religiūs*, and ne brīdleþ nọ̄ut his tūnge, his *religiūn* is *fals*: hē *gīleþ* his

heorte.' Hē seiþ swūþe wel, 'ne brīdleþ nǭut his tūnge,'
vor brīdel nis nǭut ǭne i þe horses mūþe, auh sit sum upo
þen ēien, and sum o þen earen. Vor alle þrēo is müche
nēod þęt hēo bēon i·brīdled; auh i þe mūþe sit tęt īren, and
o þe lihte tūnge; vor þēr is mēst nēod hǭld hwon þe tūnge
is o rüne, and i·vallen on tō ēornen. Vor ofte wē þencheþ,
hwon wē vōþ on tō spekene, vor te speken lūtel, and wel-
isette wōrdes; auh þe tūnge is sliddri, vor hēo wadeþ ine
wēte, and slit lihtlīche vorþ from lūt wōrd intō monie. Ne
męi nǭut müchel spēche, ne a·ginne hit nęver sǭ wel, bēon
wiþ·üten sünne; vor vrom sōþ hit slit te *vals*; ūt of gōd
intō üvel, and from *mesūre* intō unimete; and of a drope
waxeþ a müche flōd, þęt a·drencheþ þe sǭule. Vor mid te
flēotinde wōrd tō·flēoteþ þe heorte; sǭ þęt lǭnge þēr-ęfter ne
męi hēo bēon a·riht i·gędered tō·gęderes.

1. **mǭ** = the adv. *mā* (§ 257), which was used as a noun = 'many' in OE, and as an adj. in ME. **sleaþ** = *slǣþ*, § 383; long open *e* is in this text written indifferently *e* or *ea*, whatever its origin. **wōrd**; this is the Anglian lengthening (§ 133), which also appears in Late West-Saxon. **þene** = *þonne*; cp. *ine* l. 2. **swēord** = *sweord* (cp. *wōrd*); *eo*, *ēo* in this text are monophthongs—(*e*, ee) or perhaps still (*œ*, œœ). **seiþ** = *sęgeþ* (§ 174). 2. **ine**, § 409. **tūnge** = *tunge* weak fem. **hǭnd** = *hand*, *hǫnd* fem. **hwǭ-se** = *swā-hwā-swā* (§ 275). **witeþ** instead of *wǭt* (§ 388) 'knows,' 'guards.' 3. **wiþhalt** keeps the short Mercian *a* which is long in the infin. *wiþhǭlden* (§ 312); *halt* is a blending of W. S. *hielt* (§ 289) with the usual mutation, and Mercian *haldeþ*, *hāldeþ*. **wōrdes** = *word* neut. plur. 4. **þe** (§ 270) **wīse** = *se wīsa* (§ 249). **ase**, § 404. **buruh** = *bur(u)g* fem. 'fortified city.' **verd** = *fierd* fem. 'army' from *faran* 'go.' 5. **męi** = *mæġ*; when *e* represents (æ), as in this word, we write it *ę*; in later ME it becomes *a*—*mai*. **męi in** 'can enter in.' **over-al** 'everywhere.' **wenden** 'go.' **tütel** 'mouth,' 'opening.' 6. **ęver**, *eaver* = *ēfre*. 7. **telleþ** = *tęl(e)þ*, inf. *tęllan* (§ 300), the ME *ll* being taken from the infin. etc. **hǭli** = *hālig* (§ 425). **seide** = *sægde* (§ 302) with the vowel of *seiþ* (l. 1). **þēo** = *þā* 'when.' **me** = *man(n)* 'man,' 'one' in the sense of French *on*. **ane** is a weak form

(§ 272); cp. *ǭn* l. 7: OE *ān-en of þām brōþrum.* **8. iherd** = *gehēred,* plur. *gehērde* (§ 158). **spēche** = *sprǣċ* fem. **9. bōþ, hore** are weak forms = *bēoþ, heora* (§ 265); cp. *am* = Anglian *eam* (§ 391). **auh** = *ac,* Mercian *ah* 'but.' **wunnunge** = *wunung* (§ 235); this doubling of *n* is not unfrequent. **naveþ** = *nafaþ, næfþ* 'has not.' **10. ȝęt** = later ME *yat*; the OE ȝ was used to denote the front sound (j). **maþelien** 'chatter.' **wüle** = *wile* (§ 389), *wyle.* **13. gīlen** 'beguile,' 'deceive.' **14. swūþe** = *swīþe, swȳþe* (by influence of the *w*). **15. ǭne** 'only'; in OE *āna* with weak inflection means 'alone' [*alone* = OE **eall-āna*]. **mūþe** dat.; OE *mūþ* masc. **sit** = *sitt, siteþ* (§ 309). **upo** = *uppan, uppon.* **16. þen ēien** = Mercian *þām ēgum* (§ 144). **o,** weak form = *on,* like *a* = *ān.* **ǭre** = **ēare** weak neut. **17. nēde, nēod** 'need' = *nīed,* Angl. *nēd,* Late W. S. *nȳd, nēad, nēod.* **sit ţęt** with the frequent change of *ţþ* into *tt* in separate words (*sit* itself = *sitt* from *siteþ*). OE **īren** neut. **18. męst** (§ 257), later ME *mǭst.* **hwon** = *hwonne*; cp. *þene* l. 1. **19. rüne** = *ryne* 'running,' 'course.' **ēornen,** § 353. **ofte** = *oft*; the *-e* added by analogy of such adverbs as *lǭnge* l. 27. **þenchen** = *þęnċan* (§ 302). **20. vōn** = OE irreg. strong I *fōn, fēng, ġefangen* 'seize' [cp. *hōn,* § 351]; *vōn on* 'begin.' **tō spekene** = *tō sprecenne* (§ 292). **vor te** 'for to,' 'to'; *te* is a weak form of *tō* (cp. l. 24). **21. sliddri** 'apt to slip,' 'slippery,' formed by adding *-i* = *iġ* to *slidder* = OE *slidor* [cp. *slit* l. 22]. OE **wadan** strong II. **22. wēte** = *wēta* masc. **slit** = OE *slītt, slīdeþ,* strong VI *slīdan.* **lūt** = OE adv. *lȳt,* used also as a noun like *mā* (l. 1). **23. aginnen** = *on·ginnan* (§ 418). **25. unimete** dat.; OE *un-gemet* 'un-measure,' 'excess' [cp. *metan* strong V 'to measure,' whence MnE *to mete*]. OE **dropa.** **26.** OE strong I **weaxan** (*wæxan*) 'grow.' OE **ādręnċan** 'give to drink,' 'drown.' **mid te,** cp. *sit te* l. 17; here *dþ* becomes **tþ, tt* as in *slit* (l. 22), although the *d* is kept in writing. **27. flēotinde** pres. partic. (§ 294); OE *flēotan* strong VII 'float,' 'flow.' **tō·flēoten** 'flow apart' (§ 417), 'be dissolved.' **sǭ** = *swā* (§ 404). **lǭnge** = *lange* adv. **28. męi** sing. instead of the plur. *muwen,* OE *magon.* **ariht** = *on riht* (§ 400) 'rightly.' *tōgęderes* from OE *tō·gædere* (§ 399).

6.

Early East Midland.

And ȝif þū cnāwest riht tīn God,
and hercnest hise spelles,
and leȝest al þīn herte on him,
and folȝhest him and būȝhest,
and for þe lufe of him forsēst
hæþene Goddes alle,
and art tē self aȝ mīlde and mēoc,
and softe, and stille, and līþe,
wiþ lāmb þū lākest tīn Drihtīn
gāstlīke ī þīne þæwes,
swā þat it maȝ wēl helpen þē
tō winnen Godes āre.
For lāmb is softe and stille dēor,
and mēoc, and mīlde, and līþe;
and it can cnāwen swīþe wēl
his mōder þær ȝhō blæteþ
bitwēnen ān þūsende shēp,
þoh þat teȝ blæten alle.
and al-swā birþ þē cnāwen wēl
þīn God and al his lāre,
and al forwerpen hæþendōm
and ōþre Goddes alle,
swā-sum þe lāmb flēþ ōþre shēp,
and folȝheþ aȝ his mōder.

1. **tīn**, see 5. 17; this change is carried out consistently in the present text. 2. **hise**; the OE gen. *his* takes a plur. *-e* in ME on the analogy of OE plur. *mīne* etc. OE **spell** neut. 'story,' 'teaching.' 3. **herte** = *heorte*; observe that final vowels are dropped before another vowel. 4. **folȝhen** = *folgian*; **ȝh** = (ȝ) in this text. OE **būgan** strong VII 'bow,'

'incline.' 5. OE **for·sēon** 'despise,' literally 'look askance at.' 6. **hæþene**; OE *hǣþen* (§ 425); in this text long open *e* is always written *æ*. 7. **þē self**, § 268. **aȝ** 'always,' a Scandinavian word; this text writes **ȝ** for *i* in diphthongs. **mēoc** 'meek,' Scand. 8. **softe** = *sōfte* the adv. of *sēfte* 'gentle.' OE **līþe** 'gentle.' 9. **lāken** 'sacrifice to'; OE *lāc* 'gift.' **Drihtīn** = *Dryhten*; the *-īn* from Latin names in *-īn(us)*. 10. **gāstlīke** = Southern *gǭstlīche*, OE *gāst-līċe* 'spiritually.' OE **þēaw** masc. 'custom,' **þēawas** plur. 'morals.' 12. OE **ār** fem. 'mercy.' 13. OE **dēor** neut. '(wild) animal.' 16. **þær** 'where.' **ȝhō** = (*j*hoo), a weak form of OE *hēo*. 18. **þoh** Scand.; OE *þēah* (*þēh*). **þei**, § 261. 19. **birþ** = *ġebyreþ* wean-class 'befits.' 20. OE **lār** fem. 'teaching.' 21. OE **for-weorpan** 'reject'; *weorpan* strong III 'throw.' 23. **sum** 'as' Scand.

7.

Standard Middle English.

Flē frǭ the *prȩs*, and dwell*e* with sōthfastnesse;
*suffis*e thīn ǭwene thing, thogh it bē smal.
For hōrd hath hāt*e*, and clȳmbyng tykelnesse,
prȩs hath *envȳ*e, and wȩl*e* blent ǭver al.
*Sāvour*e nǭ mǭr*e* thann*e* thē byhōve shal;
*rēul*e wēl thī-self that ōther folk canst rȩde:
and trōuth*e* thē shal *delyver*e—it is nǭ drȩde.

1. frǭ is the Scandinavian *frā* 'from'; it is now used only as an adverb in *to and fro*. **prȩs** 'crowd.' **dwellen** is Scand. *dwęlja*. OE **sōþ-fæst-nes** 'truth'; *sōþ* 'true,' 'truth,' *fæst* 'firm.' 2. **ǭwen** = *āgen*. **smal** = OE *smæl* 'narrow.' 3. **hōrd** = OE *hord*; MnE *hoard* comes from ME *hord*. **tykelnesse** 'giddiness.' 4. **wȩle** = *wela* 'prosperity' [cp. OE *wel* 'well']. OE **blęndan** 'blind.' OE **ofer eall** 'everywhere.' 5. **sāvoure**, pronounced (saavuurə), § 108. OE **behōflan** 'require.' 6. **rȩdē** = *rǣdan* 'advise.' 7. **trōuthe, trēuthe** = *trēowþ*, § 423. **it is nǭ drȩde** 'there is no fear,' 'without fail.'

Modern English.

8.

Early Modern.

Every one therefore which heareth (hears) these words of mine, and doeth them, shall be likened unto a wise man, which built his house upon the rock. And the rain *descended*, and the floods (fluds) came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was *founded* upon the rock. And every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand. And the rain *descended*, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and smote upon that house; and it fell: and great was the fall (faull) thereof.

---

ev(ə)ri *oo*n ðeerfoor w(h)itʃ hiireþ (hiirz) ðeez wurdz ov (of) məin, ænd duueþ ðem, ʃæl bii ləikənd untu æ (ə) wəiz mæn, whitʃ bylt (bilt) (h)iz höus upon ðe rok. ænd ðe ræin (*ree*n) de·sended, ænd ðe fludz kæəm, ænd ðe wəindz bleu, ænd b*ee*t (bet) upon ðæt höus; ænd it fel not: for it wæz (waz) föunded upon ðe rok. ænd evri *oo*n ðæt hiireþ ðeez wurdz ov məin, ænd duueþ ðem not, ʃæl bii ləikənd untu æ fuuliʃ mæn, whitʃ bylt iz höus upon ðe sænd. ænd ðe ræin desended, ænd ðe fludz kæəm, ænd ðe wəindz bleu, ænd sm*oo*t upon ðæt höus; ænd it fel: ænd gr*ee*t wæz ðe faul (f*oo*l) ðeerof.

1. hear = *hēran* with unphonetic *ea* taken from the noun *ear* = *ēare*. **word** = *wōrd* (§ 133) through (wuurd). **2. doeth** is the strong form of the weak *doth* (duþ) from (duuþ) = ME *dōþ* (§ 394). **wise** from the weak-inflected *se wīs-a* etc. **3. build** = *byldan*. **rock** = *hrocca*. **4. beat** does not agree with OE *bēot*; (bet) comes from a weak ME pret. *bētte*.

9.

mutʃ gæn ðei præiz ðe triiz so stræit ænd həi,
ðe sæiliŋ pəin, ðe *see*dar pröud ænd taul,
ðe vəinprop elm, ðe poplar nevər drəi,
ðe bildər *oo*k, s*oo*l kiŋ of forests aul,
ðe æspin guud for stæævz, ðe səipres fiuneraul.

1. **gan** = *onginnan*, ME *aginnen*, § 418. 2. **the sailing pine** 'the pine for ships' masts.'

Present English.

10.

evriwɛn ðeəfɔə whitʃ (huw) hiəriþ (hiəz) ðijz wəədz əv main, ən(d) duwiþ (dɛz) ðəm, ʃəl bi(j) laiknd (ɛn)tu ə waiz mæn, whitʃ bilt iz haus (əp)on ðə rok. ən ðə rein di·sendid, ən(d) ðə flɛdz keim, ən(d) ðə windz bluw, ən(d) bijt (əp)on ðæt haus; ənd it fel not: fər it wəz faundid (əp)on ðə rok. ənd evriwɛn ðət hiəriþ ðijz wəədz əv main, ən(d) duwiþ ðəm not, ʃəl bi laiknd (ɛn)tu ə fuwliʃ mæn, whitʃ bilt iz haus (əp)on ðə sænd. ən(d) ðə rein di·sendid, ən ðə flɛdz keim, ən(d) ðə windz bluw, ən(d) smout (əp)on ðæt haus; ənd it fel: ən(d) greit wəz ðə fɔl ðeər·ov.

11.

ðə mein dʒen(ə)rəl difrəns bi·twijn əəli ən leit modən iŋgliʃ iz ðət ðə fɔmər iz ðə piəriəd əv iks·perimənt ən kəm·pærətiv laisns bouþ in ði impɔ·teiʃən ənd in ðə fɔ·meiʃən əv njuw wəədz, idjəmz, ən grə·mætikl kən·strɛkʃənz. ðə leit modən iŋgliʃ piəriəd iz, on ði ɛðə hænd, wɛn əv si·lekʃən ənd ɔgənai·zeiʃən. ðə moust maakt difrənsiz in dijteil aa ðə

greit saundtʃeinʒiz ɐndəgon (-gɔn) bai ðə spoukn læŋgwidʒ —tʃeinʒiz w(h)itʃ əv bijn (bin) kəm·plijtli diz·gaizd (dis-) bai ðə fikṣiti əv ði ɔ·þɔgrəfi.

12.

mai haat lijps ɐp when ai bi·hould
ə reinbou in ðə skai;
sou woz it when mai laif bi·gæn,
sou iz it nau ai æm ə mæn,
sou bij it when ai ʃæl grou ould—
ɔə let mij dai!
ðə tʃaild iz faaðər əv ðə mæn;
ənd ai kəd wiʃ mai deiz tə bij
baund ijtʃ tu ijtʃ bai nætʃərəl pai-iti.

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